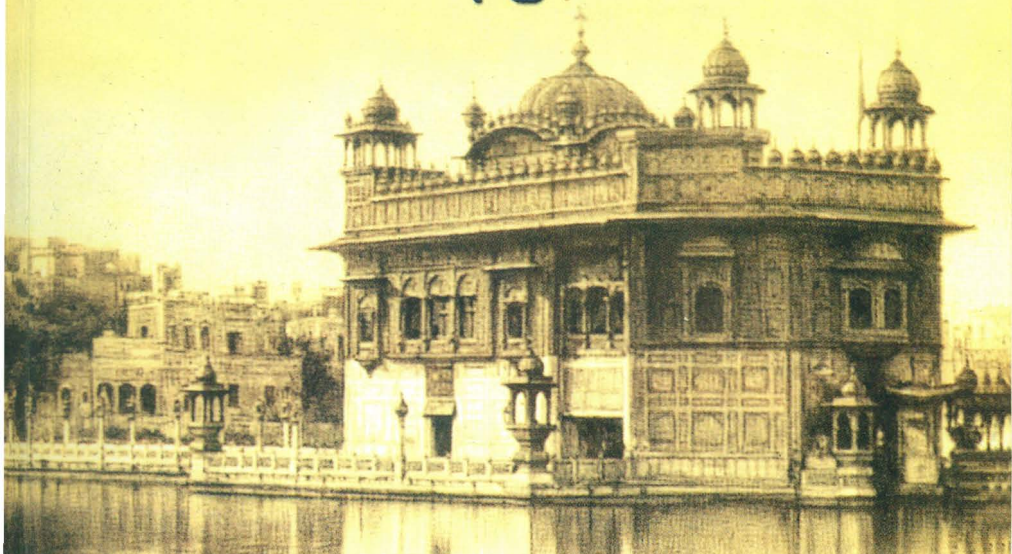
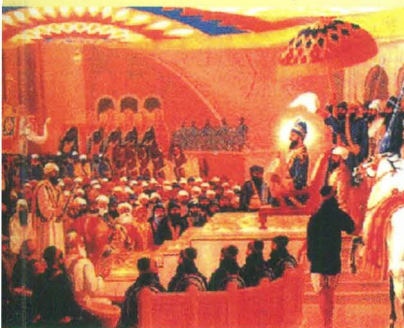


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HISTORY OF THE SIKHS



Joseph Davey Cunningham

FOREWORD BY

PATWANT SINGH

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

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From the Origin of the Nation
TO THE BATTLES OF THE SUTLEJ

Joseph Davey Cunningham

Foreword by Patwant Singh



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Foreword

I consider it an inspired idea to republish this book which first appeared 153 years ago! Especially as it is no ordinary book. Written by an exceptional person of deep convictions and the courage to express them, the author “fell a victim to the truth related in” it. He had to pay a heavy price for his integrity.

Starting his career as an officer in the army of the East India Company, Joseph Davey Cunningham became an aide to Colonel Claude Wade, political agent at Ludhiana, in 1837, in-charge both of British relations with the Sikh Kingdom, and the rulers of Afghanistan. Within his tragically short lifespan of 39 years, Cunningham rose rapidly in the political service to which he was opted. He was British Agent in Bahawalpur State at the start of the First Anglo-Sikh War in 1845—when he was recalled by the army and placed on the staff of Sir Charles Napier, then moved to the Army Chief, Sir Hugh Gough’s headquarters in Ambala, before becoming an aide-de-camp to the Governor General, Sir Henry Hardinge, who had also moved to Ambala in 1845 in anticipation of the impending war. This was six years after the legendary Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s death in 1839.

These men, many of whom would carry out the Company’s

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aim of subverting and eventually annexing the Sikh Empire after Ranjit Singh's death, chose Cunningham for very good reasons. Having lived for years with the Sikhs and observed them close-hand, and been present at the 1838 meeting between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Lord Auckland the then Governor-General, Cunningham was considered the right choice for interpreting the attitudes of "the Sikhs, as the leaders of a congenial mental change" in India. But Hastings and others hadn't reckoned on the objectivity with which he would view Anglo-Sikh relations, nor his respect for the Sikh faith, character, courage, and code of personal conduct.

He wrote this book on the Sikhs because he wished "to give Sikhism its place in the general history of humanity," even though it is difficult for minds rooted in different cultures to write with credibility on the convictions and beliefs of distant civilizations. Cunningham did it. He also placed in perspective "the connection of the English with the Sikhs, and in part with the Afghans, from the time they began to take a direct interest in the affairs of those races, and to involve them in the web of their [the English] policy for opening the navigation of the Indus, and for bringing Toorkistan and Khorassan within their commercial influence." How fascinating that these oil-rich regions of Central Asia—whose natural resources the world is eying with undisguised greed today—were already coveted by the British over 150 years ago!

Peter Cunningham, the author's brother, rightly observed in the preface to the second edition published in January 1853 after Joseph Davey Cunningham's death, that, "History, to be of any value, should be written by one superior to the influences of private or personal feelings", and added that "truth alone influenced the mind and guided the pen" of his brother. But since the 'truth' Cunningham had to tell was not to the liking of Hastings and others, they punished him for revealing the

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unsavoury acts which helped the British win the First Anglo-Sikh War. As becomes clear in this book, the war was not won by valour but by treachery and deceit, which included bribing the adversary's top commanders to betray their side. The three traitors responsible for betraying the Sikh Kingdom were the Jammu Dogra, Gulab Singh, and the two Brahmins, Lal Singh and Teja Singh. After the canny British had correctly assessed their perfidious bent, they were assiduously encouraged to betray the Lahore Darbar. But how did these men occupy such key positions in the Darbar? While consolidating his hold on Punjab, Ranjit Singh had elevated many non-Sikhs to high office. Since Sikhs accounted for only 7 per cent of the population in which Muslims were over 50 per cent and Hindus around 42 per cent, he secured the loyalty and support of all by refusing to discriminate against them in the governance of his kingdom. He kept them in line during his lifetime, but the intrigues, betrayals and tragedies which followed his death, resulted in Lal Singh becoming Prime Minister, and Teja Singh the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army. Gulab Singh bided his time, using it well to amass immense wealth. Since his aspirations too left little room for pangs of conscience, his rewards would soon exceed his wildest expectations.

It is no coincidence that within weeks of Lal Singh and Teja Singh's elevation to the top positions in November 1845, the British Governor-General declared war on the Lahore Darbar on 13 December 1845. The provocation for precipitating the war was conveniently provided by a Major Broadfoot. The Sikh army, as Cunningham puts it, need "not have heeded the insidious exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh," but these two were paid by the British to keep them informed of their military plans, and deflect the Sikh army away from where the English were

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at their weakest. They were most vulnerable in Ferozepur, yet, according to Cunningham, "no attack was made upon its seven thousand defenders...[because] the object, indeed, of Lal Singh and Tej Singh was not to compromise themselves with the English by destroying an isolated division...Their desire was to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent Kingdom by grateful conquerors, and they...assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient goodwill."

In the subsequent battle of Ferozeshahr: "The confident English," writes Cunningham, "had at last got the field they wanted...[but] the resistance met was wholly unexpected...Guns were dismounted, and their ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks...the obstinacy of the contest threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together...colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded or of the army of which they formed a part...On that memorable night the English were hardly masters of the ground on which they stood."

This was the scene at nightfall on 21 December. When dawn broke on 22 December and Teja Singh arrived on the scene with a reserve Sikh army, "the wearied and famished English," observed Cunningham, "saw before them a desperate and, perhaps, useless struggle." Yet Teja Singh, being in the pay of the British, refused to attack the dispirited enemy even though his seasoned commanders urged him to fall upon them. "But his object," Cunningham writes, "was to have the dreaded army of the Khalsa overcome and dispersed, and he delayed until...his opponents had again ranged themselves around their colours. Even at the last moment he rather skirmished and made feints than led his men to a resolute attack, and after a time he precipitately fled, leaving his

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subordinates without orders and without an object, at a moment when the artillery ammunition of the English had failed..." Cunningham carefully recounts the "treason of Lal Singh and Tej Singh" whose betrayal according to another chronicler Donald Featherstone, took place at a time "when the fate of India trembled in the balance."

On Christmas Day 1845, Hardinge—despite the moral high ground he liked to flaunt—debased himself still further by inviting desertions from Sikh ranks on promises of rewards and future pensions. This was followed by a treacherous pact he made before the battle of Sobraon on 10 February 1846—the fourth and last battle of the First Anglo-Sikh War. Cunningham records with disgust the 'understanding' reached between Gulab Singh, who had since become Prime Minister at the Lahore Darbar, and Hardinge. According to it, "...the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and that when beaten it should be openly abandoned by its government; and further that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital [Lahore] laid open to the visitors [the English]. Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Sobraon fought."

As at Ferozeshahr, in this battle too for the remaining Sikh redoubt south of the River Sutlej, the Sikh army was subverted from within by the traitors Lal Singh and Teja Singh who were, amazingly enough, again given military commands, this time by Gulab Singh. In the Government of India's secret documents which include Gough's dispatches and Harding's papers, the latter, "refer with staggering frankness to...the open and avowed treachery of Gulab Singh." In the battle, fought with incredible determination and daring, and despite three British brigades being beaten back by the Sikhs, Teja Singh fled soon after fighting began, while Lal Singh deserted to return to Lahore, leaving the road open for the British.

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Synchronizing his own treachery with Lal Singh's, Teja Singh destroyed the boat bridge on the Sutlej to prevent the Sikhs from retreating and regrouping on the northern bank. Thus was the Sikh army defeated!

The spoils were handed out soon after the British "victory", the victors assuming the right to distribute the Lahore Darbar's territories to their collaborators. Article 12 of the Treaty of Lahore signed on 9 March, 1846, stipulated that: "In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Golab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja [the infant Dalip Singh] hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Golab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Golab Singh by separate agreements between himself and the British government...the British Government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Golab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and admits him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government." Gulab Singh was in effect declared an independent sovereign. Teja Singh was made the Raja of Sialkot, and Lal Singh was handsomely rewarded until he tried to doublecross the British and was expelled from Punjab.

Thus was treason—or "good conduct" depending on which way you look at it—rewarded by the grateful British. They rewarded themselves too by taking over more than one-third of the Sikh Kingdom's territory, while adding three million rupees to their annual revenues—which is what the Company was in India for anyway.

It is axiomatic of wars and their aftermath that even the most morally coarse acts of the victors becomes transformed in time into heroic deeds. Barbara Tuchman provides a brilliant

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perspective on this in her book, *Sand Against the Wind*: “No nation has ever produced a military history of such verbal nobility as the British. Retreat or advance, win or lose, blunder or bravery, murderous folly or unyielding resolution, all emerge alike clothed in dignity and touched with glory...Official histories record every move in monumental and infinite detail but details serve to obscure...”

Obviously, men who wanted to keep under wraps the deceitful tactics Britain adopted in the First Anglo-Sikh War, were outraged by Cunningham’s revelations. His punishment for telling the truth in this book, was to be removed from political office and returned to his regiment in disgrace. He died within two years—of a broken heart, it is said—at the age of thirty-nine.

I have only taken a few incident from this very comprehensive study of the Sikhs which covers over 400 pages. Of course, there are errors of interpretation which are inevitable in a work of this magnitude. But these in no way detract from the scholarship and intellectual integrity of Joseph Davey Cunningham who bravely faced heavy odds to openly express his convictions, concerns and reservations about the unworthy acts of his countrymen. Very few people showed the courage he did.

March 5, 2002.

Patwant Singh

This Edition

The sheets of this Edition were seen and corrected by their Author, and were ready for publication several months previous to his death, in February, 1851.

The author fell a victim to the truth related in this book. He wrote History in advance of his time, and suffered for it; but posterity will, I feel assured, do justice to his memory.

The new notes to this Edition are distinguished by square brackets; some contain information of moment, contributed by Lord Gough, Sir Charles Napier, and others, and all received my brother's sanction.

In matters of private life, some tenderness may be shown to individual sensitiveness, but History, to be of any value, should be written by one superior to the influences of private or personal feelings. What Gibbon, calls "truth, naked, unblushing truth, the first virtue of more serious history," should alone direct the pen of the historian; and truth alone influenced the mind and guided the pen of the Author of this book.

Peter Cunningham

Kensington, 18th January, 1853.

Author's Preface

To The Second Edition

The Author's principal object in writing this history has not always been understood, and he therefore thinks it right to say that his main endeavour was to give Sikhism its place in the general history of humanity, by showing its connection with the different creeds of India, by exhibiting it as a natural and important result of the Mahometan Conquest, and by impressing upon the people of England the great necessity of attending to the mental changes now in progress amongst their subject millions in the East, who are erroneously thought to be sunk in superstitious apathy, or to be held spell-bound in ignorance by a dark and designing priesthood. A secondary object of the Author's was to give some account of the connection of the English with the Sikhs, and in part with the Afghans, from the time they began to take a direct interest in the affairs of these races, and to involve them in the web of their policy for opening the navigation of the Indus, and for bringing Toorkistân and Khorassân within their commercial influence.

It has also been remarked by some public critics and private friends, that the Author leans unduly towards the Sikhs, and that an officer in the Indian army should appear

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to say he sees aught unwise or objectionable in the acts of the East India Company and its delegates is at the least strange. The Author has, indeed, constantly endeavoured to keep his readers alive to that undercurrent of feeling or principle which moves the Sikh people collectively, and which will usually rise superior to the crimes or follies of individuals.

The glory to England is indeed great of her Eastern Dominion, and she may justly feel proud of the increasing excellence of her sway over subject nations; but this general expression, of the sense and desire of the English people does not show that every proceeding of her delegates is necessarily fitting and farseeing. The extension of supremacy, and not the extinction of dynasties, should be the aim and scope of English sway in the East. England should reign over kings rather than rule over subjects.

25th October, 1849

Preface

To The First Edition*

Towards the end of the year 1837, the Author received, through the unsolicited favour of Lord Auckland, the appointment of assistant to Colonel Wade, the political agent at Loodiana, and the officer in charge of the British relations with the Punjab and the chiefs of Afghanistan. He was at the same time required as an engineer officer, to render Feerozpoor a defensible post, that little place having been declared a feudal escheat, and its position being regarded as one of military importance. His plans for effecting the object in view met the approval of Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief; but it was not eventually thought proper to do more than cover the town with a slight parapet, and the scheme for reseating Shah Shooja on his throne seemed at the time to make the English and Sikh Governments so wholly one, that the matter dropped, and Feerozpoor was allowed to become a cantonment with scarcely the means at hand of saving its ammunition from a few predatory horse.

The Author was also present at the interview which took place in 1838, between Runjeet Singh and Lord Auckland. In

* Published in 1 vol. 8vo. 19th March, 1849.

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1839 he accompanied Shahzada Tymoor and Colonel Wade to Peshawur, and he was with them when they forced the Pass of Khyber, and laid open the road to Caubul. In 1840 he was placed in administrative charge of the district of Loodiana; and towards the end of the same year, he was deputed by the new frontier agent, Mr. Clerk, to accompany Colonel Shelton and his relieving brigade to Peshawur, whence he returned with the troops escorting Dost Mahomed Khan under Colonel Wheeler. During part of 1841 he was in magisterial charge of the Feerozpoor district, and towards the close of that year, he was appointed—on the recommendation again of Mr. Clerk—to proceed to Tibet to see that the ambitious Rajas of Jummoo surrendered certain territories which they had seized from the Chinese of Lassa, and that the British trade with Ludakh, &c. was restored to its old footing. He returned at the end of a year, and was present at the interviews between Lord Ellenborough and Dost Mahomed at Loodiana, and between his lordship and the Sikh chiefs at Feerozpoor in December 1842. During part of 1843 he was in civil charge of Ambala but from the middle of that year till towards the close of 1844, he held the post of personal assistant to Colonel Richmond, the successor of Mr. Clerk. After Major Broadfoot's nomination to the same office, and during the greater part of 1845, the Author was employed in the Buhawulpoor territory in connection with refugee Sindhians, and with boundary disputes between the Daoodpotras and the Rajpoots of Beekmeer and Jeyselmeer. When war with the Sikhs broke out, the Author was required by Sir Charles Napier to join his army of co-operation; but after the battle of Pheerooshuhur, he was summoned to Lord Gough's Head Quarters. He was subsequently directed to accompany Sir Harry Smith, when a diversion was made towards Loodiana, and he was thus present at the skirmish of Buddowal and at the battle of

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Aleewal. He had likewise the fortune to be a participator in the victory of Subraon, and the further advantage of acting on that important day as an aide-de-camp to the Governor-General. He was then attached to the head quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, until the army broke up at Lahore, when he accompanied Lord Hardinge's camp to the Simlah Hills, preparatory to setting out for Bhopâl, the political agency in which state and its surrounding districts, his lordship had unexpectedly been pleased to bestow upon him.

The Author was thus living among the Sikh people for a period of eight years, and during a very important portion of their history. He had intercourse, under every variety of circumstances, with all classes of men, and he had at the same time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs of the frontier. It was after being required in 1844, to draw up reports on the British connection generally with the states on the Sutlej, and especially on the military resources of the Punjab, that he conceived the idea, and felt he had the means, of writing the history which he now offers to the public.

The Author's residence in Malwa has been beneficial to him in many ways personally; and it has also been of advantage in the composition of this work, as he has had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ideas and modes of life of the military colonies of Sikhs scattered through Central India.

Sehore, Bhopâl,
December 9, 1848

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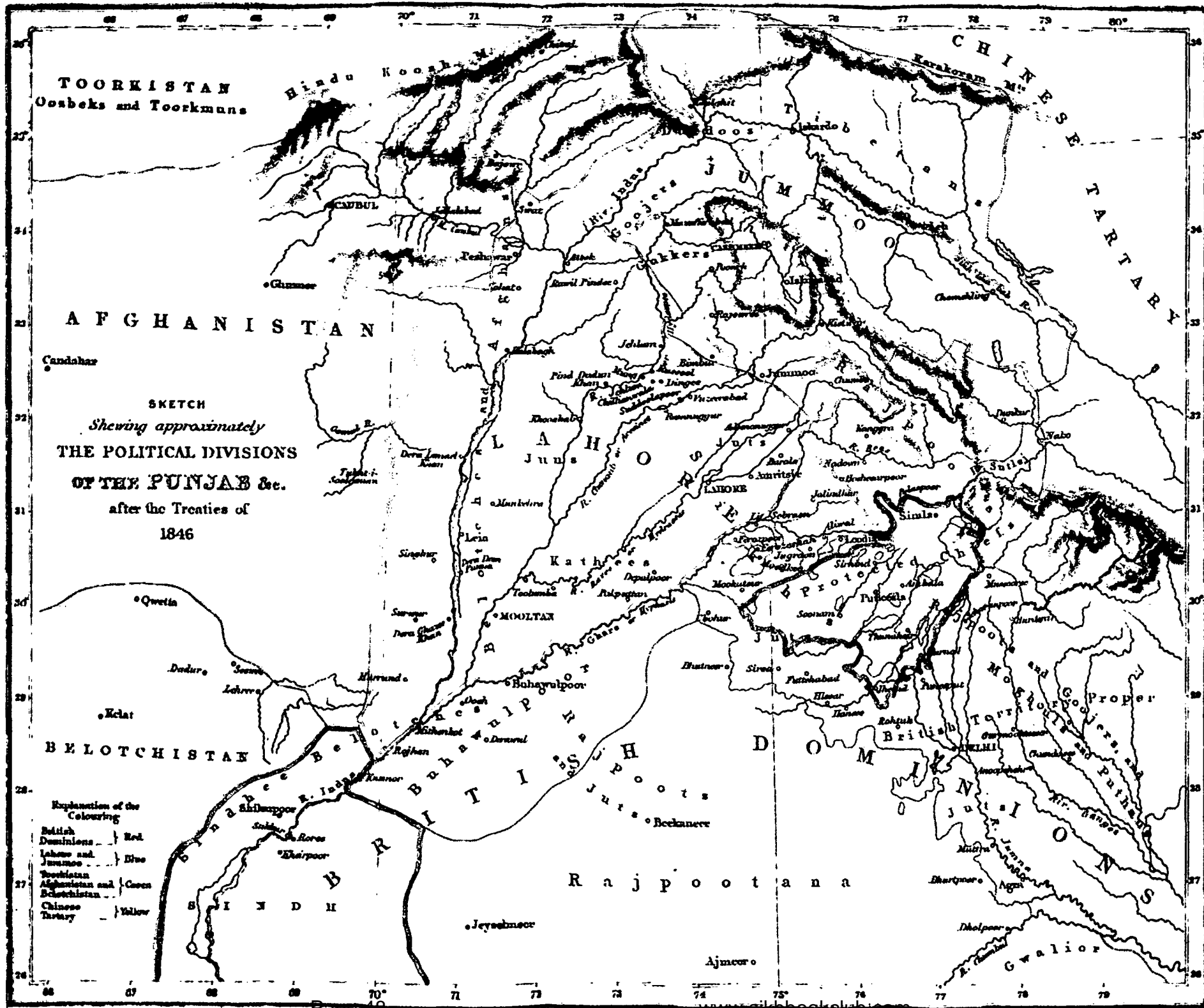
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HISTORY

OF

THE SIKHS

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

Geographical Limits of Sikh Occupation or Influence. — Climate, Productions, &c. of the Sikh Dominions. — Inhabitants, Races, Tribes. — Religions of the People. — Characteristics and Effects of Race and Religion. — Partial Migrations of Tribes. — Religious Proselytism.

DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era, Nanuk and Govind, of the Kshutree race, obtained a few converts to their doctrines of religious reform and social emancipation among the Jut peasants of Lahore and the southern banks of the Sutlej. The "Sikhs," or "Disciples," have now become a nation; and they occupy, or have extended their influence, from Delhi to Peshawur, and from the plains of Sindh to the Karakorum mountains. The dominions acquired by the Sikhs are thus included between the 28th and 36th parallels of north latitude, and between the 71st and 77th meridians of east longitude; and if a base of four hundred and fifty miles be drawn from Paneeput to the Khyber Pass, two triangles, almost equilateral,

Geographical limits.

B

may be described upon it, which shall include the conquests of Runjeet Singh and the fixed colonies of the Sikh people.

Climate,
productions,
&c.

The country of the Sikhs being thus situated in a medium degree of latitude, corresponding nearly with that of northern Africa and the American States, and consisting either of broad plains not much above the sea level, or of mountain ranges which rise two and three miles into the air, possesses every variety of climate and every description of natural produce. The winter of Ludâkh is long and rigorous, snow covers the ground for half the year, the loneliness of its vast solitudes appals the heart, and nought living meets the eye; yet the shawl-wool goat gives a value to the rocky wastes of that elevated region, and its scanty acres yield unequalled crops of wheat and barley, where the stars can be discerned at midday and the thin air scarcely bears the sound of thunder to the ear.* The heat and the dust storms of Mooltan are perhaps more oppressive than the cold and the drifting snows of Tibet; but the favorable position of the city, and the several overflowing streams in its neighborhood, give

Grain, and
shawl wool
of Ludâkh.

* Shawl wool is produced most abundantly, and of the finest quality, in the steppes between the Shayuk and the main branch of the Indus. About 100,000 rupees, or 10,000*l.* worth may be carried down the valley of the Sutlej to Loodiana and Delhi. (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1844*, p. 210.) The importation into Cashmeer alone is estimated by Moorcroft (*Travels*, ii. 165.) at about 75,000*l.*, and thus the Sutlej trade may represent less than a tenth of the whole.

Moorcroft speaks highly of the cultivation of wheat and barley in Tibet, and he once saw a field of the latter grain in that country such as he had never before beheld, and which he says an English farmer would have ridden many miles to have looked at. — (*Travels*, i. 269, 280)

The gravel of the northern steppes of Tibet yields gold in grains, but the value of the crude borax of the lakes surpasses, as an article of trade, that of the precious metal.

In Yarkund an intoxicating drug named *churrus*, much used in India, is grown of a superior quality, and while opium could be taken across the Himalayas, the Hindoos and Chinese carried on a brisk traffic of exchange in the two deleterious commodities.

The trade in tea through Tibet to Cashmeer and Caubul is of local importance. The blocks weigh about eight pounds, and sell for 12*s.* and 16*s.* up to 36*s.* and 48*s.* each, according to the quality. — (Compare Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 350, 351.)

an importance, the one to its manufactures of silks and carpets, and the other to the wheat, the indigo, and the cotton of its fields.* The southern slopes of the Himalayas are periodically deluged with rain, which is almost unknown beyond the snow, and is but little felt in Mooltan or along the Indus. The central Punjab is mostly a bushy jungle or a pastoral waste; its rivers alone have rescued it from the desert, but its dryness keeps it free from savage beasts, and its herds of cattle are of staple value to the country; while the plains which immediately bound the hills, or are influenced by the Indus and its tributaries, are not surpassed in fertility by any in India. The many populous towns of these tracts are filled with busy weavers of cotton and silk and wool, and with skilful workers in leather and wood and iron. Water is found near the surface, and the Persian wheel is in general use for purposes of irrigation. Sugar is produced in abundance, and the markets of Sindh and Caubul are in part supplied with that valuable article by the traders of Amritsir, the commercial emporium of Northern India.† The arti-

Silks, indigo, and cotton of Mooltan.

Black cattle of the central Punjab.

The Persian wheel used for irrigation. Sugar of the upper plains.

* The wheat of Mooltan is beardless, and its grain is long and heavy. It is exported in large quantities to Rajpootana, and also, since the British occupation, to Sindh to an increased extent. The value of the carpets manufactured in Mooltan does not perhaps exceed 50,000 rupees annually. The silk manufacture may be worth five times that sum, or, including that of Buhawalpoor, 400,000 rupees in all; but the demand for such fabrics has markedly declined since the expulsion of a native dynasty from Sindh. The raw silk of Bokhara is used in preference to that of Bengal, as being stronger and more glossy.

English piece-goods, (or more largely) cotton twists to be woven into cloth, have been introduced everywhere in India; but those well to do in the world can alone buy foreign articles, and thus while about eighteen tons of cotton twist

are used by the weavers of Buhawalpoor, about three hundred tons of (cleaned) cotton are grown in the district, and wrought up by the villagers or exported to Rajpootana.

The Lower Punjab and Buhawalpoor yield respectively about 750 and 150 tons of indigo. It is worth on the spot from ninepence to eighteenpence the pound. The principal market is Khorassan; but the trade has declined of late, perhaps owing to the quantities which may be introduced into that country by way of the Persian Gulph from India. The fondness of the Sikhs, and of the poorer Mahometans of the Indus, for blue clothing, will always maintain a fair trade in indigo.

† In 1844 the customs and excise duties of the Punjab amounted to 240,000*l.* or 250,000*l.*, or to one thirteenth of the whole revenue of Runjeet Singh, estimated at 3,250,000*l.*

B 2

The saffron
and the
shawls of
Cashmeer.

Rice and
wheat of
Peshawur.

Drugs, dyes,
and metals
of the hills.

Inhabi-
tants.

Immigra-
tion of the
Juts, and
introduc-
tion of Ma-
hometan-
ism.

sans of Cashmeer, the varied productions of that famous valley, its harvests of saffron, and its important manufacture of shawls, are well known and need only be alluded to.* The plains of Attok and Peshawur no longer shelter the rhinoceros which Baber delighted to hunt, but are covered with rich crops of rice, of wheat, and of barley. The mountains themselves produce drugs and dyes and fruits; their precipitous sides support forests of gigantic pines, and veins of copper, or extensive deposits of rock salt and of iron ore are contained within their vast outline. The many fertile vales lying between the Indus and Cashmeer, are perhaps unsurpassed in the East for salubrity and loveliness: the seasons are European, and the violent "monsoon" of India is replaced by the genial spring rains of temperate climates.

The people comprised within the limits of the Sikh rule or influence, are various in their origin, their language, and their faith. The plains of Upper India, in which the Brahmins and Kshutrees had developed a peculiar civilization, have been overrun by Persian or Scythic tribes, from the age of Darius and Alexander to that of Baber and Nadir Shah. Particular traces of the successive conquerors may yet perhaps be found, but the main features are, 1. the introduction of the Mahometan creed; and 2. the long antecedent emigration of hordes of Juts from the plains of Upper Asia. It is not necessary to enter into the antiquities of Grecian "Getæ" and Chinese "Yuechi," to discuss the asserted identity of a peasant Jut and a moon-descended Yadoo, or to try to trace the blood of Kadphises in the veins of Runjeet Singh. It is sufficient to observe that the vigorous Hindoo civilization of the first ages of Christianity soon absorbed its barbarous invaders, and that in the lapse of centuries the Juts

* Mr. Moorcroft (*Travels*, ii. 194.) estimates the annual value of the Cashmeer manufacture of shawls at 300,000*l.*; but this seems a small estimate if the raw material

be worth 75,000*l.* alone (*Travels*, ii. 165. &c.), that is, 1000 horse loads of 300 pounds, each pound being worth five shillings.

became essentially Brahminical in language and belief. Along the southern Indus they soon yielded their conscience to the guidance of Islâm; those of the north longer retained their idolatrous faith, but they have lately had a new life breathed into them; they now preach the unity of God and the equality of man, and, after obeying Hindoo and Mahometan rulers, they have themselves once more succeeded to sovereign power.* The Mussulman occupation forms the next grand epoch in general Indian history after the extinction of the Boodhist religion; the common speech of the people has been partially changed, and the tenets of Mahomet are gradually revolutionizing the whole fabric of Indian society; but the difference of race, or the savage manners of the conquerors, struck the vanquished even more forcibly than their creed, and to this day Juts and others talk of "Toorks" as synonymous with oppressors, and the proud Rajpoots not only bowed before the Mussulmans, but have perpetuated the remembrance of their servitude by adopting "Toorkana," or Turk money, into their language as the equivalent of tribute.

In the valley of the Upper Indus, that is, in Ludâkh and Little Tibet, the prevailing caste is the Bhottee subdivision of the great Tartar variety of the human race. Lower down that classical stream, or in Ghilghit and Chulass, the remains of the old and secluded races of Durdoos and Dunghers are still to be found, but both in Iskârdo and in Ghilghit itself, there is some mixture of Toorkmun tribes from the wilds of Pamer and Kashkâr. The people of Cashmeer have from time to time been mixed with races from the north, the south, and the west; and while their language is Hindoo and their faith Mahometan, the manners of the primitive Kush or Kutch tribes, have been influenced by their proximity to the Tartars. The hills westward from Cashmeer to the Indus are inhabited by Kukkas and Bumbas, of whom little is known, but

The Tartars
of Tibet.

The ancient
Durdoos.

Toorkmuns
of Ghilghit.

The Cash-
meeres

and their
western
neighbours,
Kukkas,
Bumbas,
Goojers, &c.

* See Appendix I.

towards the river itself the Eusofzaees and other Afghan tribes prevail ; while there are many secluded valleys peopled by the widely spread Goojers, whose history has yet to be ascertained, and who are the vassals of Arabian "syeds," or of Afghan and Toorkmun lords.

The Guk-
kers and the
Junjoohs.

In the hills south of Cashmeer, and west of the Jehlum to Attock and Kalabagh on the Indus, are found Gukkers, Goojers, Khatirs, Awâns, Junjoohs and others, all of whom may be considered to have from time to time merged into the Hindoo stock in language and feelings. Of these some, as the Junjoohs and especially the Gukkers, have a local reputation. Peshawur and the hills which surround it, are peopled by various races of Afghans, as Eusofzaees and Momunds in the north and west, Khuleels and others in the centre, and Afreedees, Khuttuks and others in the south and east. The hills south of Kohât, and the districts of Tânk and Bunnoo, are likewise peopled by genuine Afghans, as the pastoral Vuzerees and others, or by agricultural tribes claiming such a descent ; and, indeed, throughout the mountains on either side of the Indus, every valley has its separate tribe or family, always opposed in interest, and sometimes differing in speech and manners. Generally it may be observed, that, on the north, the Afghans on one side, and the Toorkmuns on the other, are gradually pressing upon the old but less energetic Durdoos, who have been already mentioned.

The Eusof-
zaees,
Afreedees,
&c.

Vuz
and other
Afghans.

Belotches,
Juts, and
Raiens, of
the Middle
Indus.

Juns,
Bhuttees,
and Ka-
thees, of the
central
plains.

Chibhs and
Buhows of
the lower
hills.

In the districts on either side of the Indus south of Kalabagh, and likewise around Mooltan, the population is partly Belotch and partly Jut, intermixed however with other tribes, as Urôras and Raiens, and towards the mountains of Sooleeman some Afghan tribes are likewise to be found located. In the waste tracts between the Indus and Sutlej are found Juns, Bhuttees, Seeals, Kurruls, Kathees, and other tribes, who are both pastoral and predatory, and who, with the Chibhs and Buhows south of Cashmeer, between the Jehlum and Chenab, may be the first inhabitants of the country,

but little reclaimed in manners by Hindoo or Mahometan conquerors; or one or more of them, as the Bhuttees, who boast of their lunar descent, may represent a tribe of ancient invaders or colonizers who have yielded to others more powerful than themselves. Indeed, there seems little doubt of the former supremacy of the Bhuttee or Bhatee race in North-western India: the tribe is extensively diffused, but the only sovereignty which remains to it is over the sands of Jeysemeer.* The tracts along the Sutlej, about Pâkputtun, are occupied by Wuttoos and Johya Rajpoots†, while lower down are found some of the Lungga tribe, who were once the masters of Ootch and Mooltan.

The hills between Cashmeer and the Sutlej are possessed by Rajpoot families, and the Mahometan invasion seems to have thrust the more warlike Indians, on one side into the sands of Rajpootana and the hills of Bundelkhund, and on the other into the recesses of the Himalayas. But the mass of the population is a mixed race called Dōgras about Jummoo, and Kunêts to the eastward, even as far as the Jumna and Ganges, and which boasts of some Rajpoot blood. There are, however, some other tribes intermixed, as the Gudhees, who claim to be Kshutree, and as the Kohlees, who may be the aborigines, and who resemble in manners and habits, and perhaps in language, the forest tribes of Central India. Towards the snowy limits there is some mixture of Bhotees, and towards Cashmeer and in the towns there is a similar mixture of the people of that valley.

The Johyas and Lunggas of the south.

The Dōgras and Kunêts of the Himalayas.

The Kohlees of the Himalayas.

* [The little chiefship of Kerowlee between Jeypoor and Gwalior may also be added. The Raja is admitted by the genealogists to be of the Yadoo or Lunar race, but people sometimes say that his being an *Aheer* or *Cowherd* forms his only relationship to Krishna, the pastoral Apollo of the Indians.]

† Tod (*Rajasthan*, i. 118.) regards the Johyas as extinct; but they still

flourish as peasants on either bank of the Sutlej, between Kussoor and Buhawulpoor: they are now Mahometans. The Dahia of Tod (i. 118.) are likewise to be found as cultivators and as Mahometans on the Lower Sutlej, under the name of Deheh, or Dāhur and Dūhur; and they and many other tribes seem to have yielded on one side to Rahtor Rajpoots, and on the other to Belotches.

The Juts of
the central
plains

mixed with
Goojers,
Rajpoots,
Puthâns,
and others.

Relative
proportions
of some
principal
races.

The central tract in the plains stretching from the Jehlum to Hansee, Hissar, and Paneeput, and lying to the north of Khooshâb and the ancient Depâlpour, is inhabited chiefly by Juts ; and the particular country of the Sikh people may be said to lie around Lahore, Amritsir, and even Goojrât to the north of the Sutlej, and around Bhutinda and Soonâm to the south of that river. The one tract is preeminently called Mânjha or the middle land, and the other is known as Mâlwa, from, it is said, some fancied resemblance in greenness and fertility to the central Indian province of that name. Many other people are, however, intermixed, as Bhuttees and Dôghurs, mostly to the south and west, and Raiens, Rôrs, and others, mostly in the east. Goojers are everywhere numerous, as are also other Rajpoots besides Bhuttees, while Puthâns are found in scattered villages and towns. Among the Puthâns those of Kusoor have long been numerous and powerful, and the Rajpoots of Rahôon have a local reputation. Of the gross agricultural population of this central tract, perhaps somewhat more than four-tenths may be Jut, and somewhat more than one-tenth Goojer, while nearly two-tenths may be Rajpoots more or less pure, and less than a tenth claim to be Mahometans of foreign origin, although it is highly probable that about a third of the whole people profess the Mussulman faith.*

In every town and city there are, moreover, tribes of religionists, or soldiers, or traders, or handicraftsmen, and thus whole divisions of a provincial capital may be peopled by holy Brahmins† or as holy Syeds, by Afghan or Boondehla soldiers, by Kshutrees, Urôras,

* See Appendix II.

† In the Punjab, and along the Ganges, Brahmins have usually the appellation of Misser or Mitter, i. e. Mithra, given to them, if not distinguished as Pundits, i. e. as doctors or men of learning. The title

seems, according to tradition, or to the surmise of well informed native Indians, to have been introduced by the first Mahometan invaders, and it may perhaps show that the Brahmins were held to be worshippers of the sun by the Unitarian iconoclasts.

and Buneas engaged in trade, by Cashmeeree weavers, and by mechanics and dealers of the many degraded or inferior races of Hindostan. None of these are, however, so powerful, so united, or so numerous as to affect the surrounding rural population, although, after the Juts, the Kshutrees are perhaps the most influential and enterprising race in the country.*

Kshutrees
and Urōras
of the cities.

Of the wandering houseless races, the Chunggurs are the most numerous and the best known, and they seem to deserve notice as being probably the same as the Chinganehs of Turkey, the Russian Tzigans, the German Ziguener, the Italian Zingaros, the Spanish Gitanos, and the English Gypsies. About Delhi the race is called Kunjur, a word which, in the Punjab, properly implies a courtesan dancing girl.

The wan-
dering
Chunggurs.

The limits of Race and Religion are not the same, otherwise the two subjects might have been considered together with advantage. In Ludākh the people and the dependent rulers profess Lamaic Boodhism, which is so widely diffused throughout Central Asia, but the Tibetans of Iskardo, the Durdoos of Ghilghit, and the Kukkas and Bumbas of the rugged mountains, are Mahometans of the Sheea persuasion. The people of Cashmeer, of Kishtwār, of Bhimbur, of Pukhlee, and of the hills south and west to the salt range and the Indus, are mostly Soonee Mahometans, as are likewise the tribes of Peshawur and of the valley of the Indus southward, and also the inhabitants of Mooltan, and of the plains northward as far as Pind-Dadul-Khan, Chuneecōt, and Depālpoor. The people of the Himalayas, eastward of Kishtwār and Bhimbur, are Hindoos of the Brahminical faith, with some Boodhist colonies to the north, and some Mahometan families to the south west. The Juts of "Manjha" and "Malwa" are mostly Sikhs, but perhaps not one-third of the whole population between the Jehlum and Jumna has yet embraced the

The reli-
gions of the
Sikh
country.

The Lamaic
Boodhists of
Ludākh.

The Sheea
Mahome-
tans of
Bultee.

The Soonee
Mahome-
tans of
Cashmeer,
Peshawur,
and
Mooltan.
The Brah-
minist hill
tribes.

The Sikhs
of the cen-
tral plains
mixed

* See Appendix III.

with Brahminists and Mahometans.

Hindoo shopkeepers of Mahometan cities.

Village population about Bhutinda purely Sikh.

The debased and secluded races, worshippers of local gods and oracular divinities.

tenets of Nanuk and Govind, the other two-thirds being still equally divided between Islâm and Brahminism.

In every town, excepting perhaps Leh, and in most of the villages of the Mahometan districts of Peshawur and Cashmeer and of the Sikh districts of Manjha and Malwa, there are always to be found Hindoo traders and shopkeepers. The Kshutrees prevail in the northern towns, and the Urôras are numerous in the province of Mooltan. The Cashmeeree Brahmins emulate in intelligence and usefulness the Mahratta Pundits and the Baboos of Bengal; they are a good deal employed in official business, although the Kshutrees and the Urôras are the ordinary accountants and farmers of revenue. In "Malwa" alone, that is, about Bhutinda and Soanam, can the Sikh population be found unmixed, and there it has passed into a saying, that the priest, the soldier, the mechanic, the shopkeeper, and the ploughman are all equally Sikh.

There are, moreover, in the Punjab, as throughout India, several poor and contemned races, to whom Brahmins will not administer the consolations of religion, and who have not been sought as converts by the Mahometans. These worship village or forest gods, or family progenitors, or they invoke a stone as typical of the great mother of mankind; or some have become acquainted with the writings of the later Hindoo reformers, and regard themselves as inferior members of the Sikh community. In the remote Himalayas, again, where neither Moolla nor Lama, nor Brahmin, has yet cared to establish himself, the people are equally without instructed priests and a determinate faith; they worship the Spirit of each lofty peak, they erect temples to the liminary god of each snow clad summit, and believe that from time to time the attendant servitor is inspired to utter the divine will in oracular sentences, or that when the image of the Deitya or Titan is borne in solemn procession on

their shoulders, a pressure to the right or left denotes good or evil fortune.*

The characteristics of race and religion are everywhere of greater importance than the accidents of position or the achievements of contemporary genius; but the influences of descent and manners, of origin and worship, need not be dwelt upon in all their ramifications. The systems of Boodha, of Brumha, and of Mahomet, are extensively diffused in the eastern world, and they intimately affect the daily conduct of millions of men. But, for the most part, these creeds no longer inspire their votaries with enthusiasm; the faith of the people is no longer a living principle, but a social custom, — a rooted, an almost instinctive deference to what has been the practice of centuries. The Tibetan, who unhesitatingly believes the Deity to dwell incarnate in the world, and who grossly thinks he perpetuates a prayer by the motion of a wheel, and the Hindoo, who piously considers his partial gods to delight in forms of stone or clay, would indeed still resist the uncongenial innovations of strangers; but the spirit which erected temples to Shakya the Seer from the torrid to the frigid zone, or which raised the Brahmins high above all other Indian races, and which led them to triumph in poetry and philosophy, is no longer to be found in its ancient simplicity and vigor. The Boodhist and the reverer of the Veds, is indeed each satisfied with his own chance of a happy immortality, but he is indifferent about the general reception of truth, and, while he will not himself be despotically interfered

Characteristics of race and religion.

Brahminism and Boodhism rather forms than feelings;

yet strong to resist innovation.

* In the Lower Himalayas of the Punjab there are many shrines to Googa or Goga, and the poorer classes of the plains likewise reverence the memory of the ancient hero. His birth or appearance is variously related. One account makes him the chief of Gluznce, and causes him to war with his brothers Urjoon and Soorjun. He

was slain by them, but behold! a rock opened and Googa again sprang forth armed and mounted. Another account makes him the lord of Durdurehra in the wastes of Rajwarra, and this corresponds in some degree with what Tod (*Rajasthan*, ii. 447.) says of the same champion, who died fighting against the armies of Mehmood.

Mahomet-
anism,
although
corrupted,
has more of
vitality.

All are
satisfied
with their
own faith,

and can-
not be rea-
soned into
Chris-
tianity.

with, he cares not what may be the fate of others, or what becomes of those who differ from him. Even the Mahometan, whose imagination must not be assisted by any visible similitude, is prone to invest the dead with the powers of intercessors, and to make pilgrimages to the graves of departed mortals ; and we should now look in vain for any general expression of that feeling which animated the simple Arabian disciple, or the hardy Toorkmun convert, to plant thrones across the fairest portion of the ancient hemisphere. It is true that, in the Mahometan world, there are still many zealous individuals, and many mountain and pastoral tribes, who will take up arms, as well as become passive martyrs, for their faith, and few will deny that Turk, and Persian, and Puthân would more readily unite for conscience sake under the banner of Mahomet, than Russian, and Swede, and Spaniard are ever likely to march under one common "Labarum." The Mussulman feels proudly secure of his path to salvation ; he will resent the exhortations of those whom he pities or contemns as wanderers, and, unlike the Hindoo and the Boodhist, he is still actively desirous of acquiring merit by adding to the number of true believers. But Boodhist, and Brahminist, and Mahometan, have each an instructed body of ministers, and each confides in an authoritative ritual, or in a revealed law. Their reason and their hopes are both satisfied, and hence the difficulty of converting them to the Christian faith by the methods of the civilized moderns. Our missionaries, earnest and devoted men, must be content with the cold arguments of science and criticism ; they must not rouse the feelings, or appeal to the imagination ; they cannot promise aught which their hearers were not sure of before ; they cannot go into the desert to fast, nor retire to the mountain tops to pray ; they cannot declare the fulfilment of any fondly cherished hope of the people, nor, in announcing a great principle, can they point to the success of the sword and the visible

favor of the Divinity. No austerity of sanctitude convinces the multitude, and the Pundit and the Moolla can each oppose dialectics to dialectics, morality to morality, and revelation to revelation. Our zealous preachers may create sects among ourselves, half Quietist and half Epicurean, they may persevere in their laudable resolution of bringing up the orphans of heathen parents, and they may gain some converts among intelligent inquirers as well as among the ignorant and the indigent, but it seems hopeless that they should ever Christianize the Indian and Mahometan worlds.*

The observers of the ancient creeds quietly pursue the even tenor of their way, self satisfied and almost indifferent about others ; but the Sikhs are converts to a new religion, the seal of the double dispensation of Brumha and Mahomet : *their* enthusiasm is still fresh, and *their* faith is still an active and a living principle. *They* are persuaded that God himself is present with them, that He supports them in all their endeavors, and that sooner or later He will confound *their* enemies for His own glory. This feeling of the Sikh people deserves the attention of the English, both as a civilized nation and as a paramount government. Those who have heard a follower of Gooroo Govind declaim on the destinies of his race, his eye wild with enthusiasm and every muscle quivering with excitement, can understand *that* spirit which impelled the naked Arab against the mail clad troops of Rome and Persia, and which led our own chivalrous and believing forefathers through Europe to battle for the cross on the shores of Asia. The Sikhs do not form a numerous sect, yet their

Sikhism an active and pervading principle.

* The masses can only be convinced by means repudiated by reason and the instructed intellect of man, and the futility of endeavoring to convince the learned by argument is exemplified in Martyn's Persian Controversies translated by Dr. Lee, in the discussions carried on between the Christian missionaries at Allahabad and the Mahome-

tan Moollas at Lucknow, in Rammo-hun Roy's work on Deism and the Veds, and in the published correspondence of the Tuttubodhinee Subha of Calcutta. For an instance of the satisfaction of the Hindoos with *their* creed, see Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 118., where some Oodássees commend *him* for believing, like them, in a God !

strength is not to be estimated by tens of thousands, but by the unity and energy of religious fervor and warlike temperament. They will dare much, and they will endure much, for the mystic "Khalsa" or commonwealth; they are not discouraged by defeat, and they ardently look forward to the day when Indians and Arabs, and Persians and Turks, shall all acknowledge the double mission of Nanuk and Govind Singh.

The characteristics of race are perhaps more deep seated and enduring than those of religion; but, in considering any people, the results of birth and breeding, of descent and instruction, must be held jointly in view. The Juts or Jats are known in the north and west of India as industrious and successful tillers of the soil, and as hardy yeomen equally ready to take up arms and to follow the plough. They form, perhaps, the finest rural population in India. On the Jumna their general superiority is apparent, and Bhurtpoor bears witness to their merits, while on the Sutlej religious reformation and political ascendancy have each served to give spirit to their industry and activity and purpose to their courage.* The Raiens, the Malees, and some others, are not inferior to the Juts in laboriousness and sobriety, although they are so in enterprize and resolution. The Rajpoots are always brave men, and they form, too, a desirable peasantry. The Goojers everywhere prefer pasturage to the plough, whether of the Hindoo or Mahometan faith. The Belotches do not become careful cultivators even when long settled in the plains, and the tribes adjoining the hills are of a disposition turbulent and predatory. They mostly devote themselves to the rearing of camels, and they tra-

The Juts
industrious
and high-
spirited.

The Raiens
and some
others
scarcely
inferior as
tillers of the
ground.

The peasant
Rajpoots.

The Goojers
a pastoral
people.

The Be-
lotches
pastoral and
predatory.

* Under the English system of selling the proprietary right in villages when the old freeholder or former purchaser may be unable to pay the land tax, the Jats of Upper India are gradually becoming the possessors of the greater portion of the soil, a fact which the author first heard on the high authority of Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces. It is a common saying that if a Jat has fifty rupees, he will rather dig a well or buy a pair of bullocks with the money than spend it on the idle rejoicings of a marriage.

verse Upper India in charge of herds of that useful animal. The Afghans are good husbandmen when they have been accustomed to peace in the plains of India, or when they feel secure in their own valleys, but they are even of a more turbulent character than the Belotches, and they are everywhere to be met with as mercenary soldiers. Both races are, in truth, in their own country little better than freebooters, and the Mahometan faith has mainly helped them to justify their excesses against unbelievers, and to keep them together under a common banner for purposes of defence or aggression. The Kshutrees and Urōras of the cities and towns are enterprizing as merchants and frugal as tradesmen. They are the principal financiers and accountants of the country; but the ancient military spirit frequently reappears amongst the once royal "Kshutrees," and they become able governors of provinces and skilful leaders of armies.* The industry and mechanical skill of the stout-limbed prolific Cashmeerees are as well known as their poverty, their tameness of spirit, and their loose morality. The people of the hills south and east of Cashmeer, are not marked by any peculiar and well determined character, excepting that the few unmixed Rajpoots possess the personal courage and the

The Afghans industrious, but turbulent.

The Kshutrees and Urōras enterprizing but frugal.

The Cashmeerees skilful, but tame and spiritless.

The unmixed Rajpoots.

* Hurree Singh, a Sikh, and the most enterprizing of Runjeet Singh's generals, was a Kshutree; and the best of his governors, Mohkum Chund and Sawun Mull, were of the same race. The learning of Boloo Mull, a Khunna Kshutree, and a follower of the Sikh chief of Alhoowaleea, excites some little jealousy among the Brahmins of Lahore and of the Jalundhur Dooab; and Chundoo Lal, who so long managed the affairs of the Nizam of Hyderabad, was a Khutree of Northern India, and greatly encouraged the Sikh mercenaries in that principality, in opposition to the Arabs and Afghans. The declension of the Kshutrees from soldiers, and

sovereigns into traders and shopkeepers, has a parallel in the history of the Jews. Men of active minds will always find employment for themselves, and thus we know what Greeks became under the victorious Romans, and what they are under the ruling Turks. We likewise know that the vanquished Moors were the most industrious of the subjects of mediæval Spain; that the Moghuls of British India are gradually applying themselves to the business of exchange, and it is plain that the traffickers as well as the priests of Saxon England, Frankish Gaul, and Gothic Italy, must have been chiefly of Roman descent.

The Tibetans plodding and debased.

The custom of polyandry one of necessity.

The Juns and Kathees pastoral and peaceful.

pride of race which distinguish them elsewhere, and that the Gukkers still cherish the remembrance of the times when they resisted Baber and aided Humayoon. The Tibetans, while they are careful cultivators of their diminutive fields rising tier upon tier, are utterly debased in spirit, and at present they seem incapable of independence and even of resistance to gross oppression. The system of polyandry obtains among them, not as a perverse law, but as a necessary institution. Every spot of ground within the hills which can be cultivated, has been under the plough for ages; the number of mouths must remain adapted to the number of acres, and the proportion is preserved by limiting each proprietary family to one giver of children. The introduction of Mahometanism in the west, by enlarging the views of the people and promoting emigration, has tended to modify this rule, and even among the Lamaic Tibetans any casual influx of wealth, as from trade or other sources, immediately leads to the formation of separate establishments by the several members of a house.* The wild tribes of Chibhs and Buhows in the hills, the Juns and Kathees, and the Dōghers and Bhuttees of the plains, need not be particularly described; the idle and predatory habits of some, and the quiet pastoral occupations of others, are equally the result of position as of character. The Juns and Kathees tall, comely, and long-lived races, feed vast herds of camels and black cattle, which furnish the towns with the prepared butter

* Regarding the polyandry of Ludākh, Moorcroft (*Travels*, ii. 321, 322.) may be referred to, and also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1844, p. 202. &c. The effects of the system on bastardy seem marked, and thus out of 760 people in the little district of Hungrung, around the junction of the Sutlej and Pittee (or Spiti) rivers, there were found to be 26 bastards, which gives a proportion of about 1 in 29; and as few grown-up people

admitted themselves to be illegitimate, the number may even be greater. In 1835 the population of England and Wales was about 14,750,000 and the number of bastards affiliated (before the new poor law came into operation) was 65,475, or 1 in about 226 (*Wade's British History*, pp. 1041—1055.); and even should the number so born double those affiliated, the proportion would still speak against polyandry as it affects female purity.

of the east, and provide the people themselves with their loved libations of milk.*

The limits of creeds and races which have been described must not be regarded as permanent. Throughout India there are constant petty migrations of the agricultural population taking place. Political oppression, or droughts, or floods, cause the inhabitants of a village, or of a district, to seek more favored tracts, and there are always chiefs and rulers who are ready to welcome industrious emigrants and to assign them lands on easy terms. This causes some fluctuation in the distribution of races, and as in India the tendency is to a distinction or separation of families, the number of clans or tribes has become almost infinite. Within the Sikh dominions the migrations of the Belotches up the Indus are not of remote occurrence, while the occupation, by the Sindhian Daoodpotras of the Lower Sutlej, took place within the last hundred years. The migration of the Dōghers from Delhi to Feerozpoor, and of the Johyas from Marwar to Pakputtun, also on the Sutlej, are historical rather than traditional, while the hard-working Hindoo Mehtums are still moving, family by family and village by village, eastward, away from the Raree and Chenab, and are insinuating themselves among less industrious but more warlike tribes.

Although religious wars scarcely take place among the Boodhists, Brahminists, and Mahometans of the present day, and although religious fervor has almost disappeared from among the professors at least of the two former faiths, proselytism is not unknown to any of the three creeds, and Mahometanism, as possessing still a strong vitality within it, will long continue to find converts among the ignorant and the barbarous. Islamism is extending up the Indus from Iskardo towards Leh, and is thus incroaching upon the more worn-

Partial migrations of tribes, and proselytism in religion. Causes of migrations.

Recent migration of the Belotches up the Indus, and of the Daoodpotras up the Sutlej. Migrations of the Dōghers, Johyas, and Mehtums.

Islamism extending in Tibet;

* "On milk sustained, and blest with length of days,
The Hippomolgi, peaceful, just, and wise."

Iliad, xiii. Cowper's Translation.

and generally perhaps in towns and cities.

Lamaic Boodhism progressive in some parts of the Himalayas.

Brahminism likewise extending in the wilder parts of the plains.

But the peasantry and mechanics generally are becoming seceders from Brahminism.

out Boodhism; while the limits of the idolatrous "Kafirs," almost bordering on Peshawur, are daily becoming narrower. To the south and eastward of Cashmeer, Mahometanism has also had recent triumphs, and in every large city and in every Mussulman principality in India, there is reason to believe that the religion of the Arabian prophet is gradually gaining ground. In the Himalayas to the eastward of Kishtwâr, the Rajpoot conquerors have not carried Brahminism beyond the lower valleys; and into the wilder glens, occupied by the ignorant worshippers of local divinities, the Boodhists have recently begun to advance, and Lamas of the red or yellow sects are now found where none had set foot a generation ago. Among the forest tribes of India the influence of the Brahmins continues to increase, and every Bheel, or Gond, or Kohlee who acquires power or money, desires to be thought a Hindoo rather than a "Mletcha;"* but, on the other hand, the Indian laity has, during the last few hundred years, largely assumed to itself the functions of the priesthood, and although Hindooism may lose no votaries, Gosayens and secular Sâdhs usurp the authority of Brahmins in the direction of the conscience. The Sikhs continue to make converts, but chiefly within the limits of their dependent sway, for the colossal power of the English has arrested the progress of their arms to the eastward, and has left the Juts of the Jumna and Ganges to their old idolatry.

* Half of the principality of Bhopâl, in Central India, was founded on usurpations from the Gonds, who appear to have migrated in force towards the west about the middle of the seventeenth century, and to have made themselves supreme in the valley of the Nerbudda about Hoshungabad, in spite of the exertions of Aurungzeb, until an Afghan adventurer attacked them on the decline of the empire, and completely subdued them. The Afghan

converted some of the vanquished to his own faith, partly by force and partly by conferring Jagheers, partly to acquire merit and partly to soothe his conscience, and there are now several families of Mahometan Gonds in the possession of little fiefs on either side of the Nerbudda. These men have more fully got over the gross superstition of their race, than the Gonds who have adopted Hindooism.

CHAPTER II.

OLD INDIAN CREEDS, MODERN REFORMS, AND THE
TEACHING OF NÂNUK, UP TO 1529 A.D.

The Boodhists.—*The Brahmins and Kshutrees.*—*Reaction of Boodhism on victorious Brahminism.*—*Latitude of orthodoxy.*—*Shunkur Acharj and Saivism.*—*Monastic orders.*—*Ramanooj and Vaishnuvism.*—*The Doctrine of Maya.*—*The Mahometan conquest.*—*The reciprocal action of Brahminism and Mahometanism.*—*The successive innovations of Ramanund, Gorukhnath, Kubeer, Cheitun, and Vullubh.*—*The reformation of Nânuk.*

THE condition of India from remote ages to the present time, is an episode in the history of the world inferior only to the fall of Rome and the establishment of Christianity. At an early period, the Asiatic peninsula, from the southern "Ghâts" to the Himalayan mountains, would seem to have been colonized by a warlike subdivision of the Caucasian race, which spoke a language similar to the ancient Medic and Persian, and which here and there, near the greater rivers and the shores of the ocean, formed orderly communities professing a religion resembling the worship of Babylon and Egypt—a creed which, under varying types, is still the solace of a large portion of mankind. "Aryavurt," the land of good men or believers, comprised Delhi and Lahore, Goojrat and Bengal; but it was on the banks of the Upper Ganges that the latent energies of the people first received an impulse, which produced the peculiar civilization of the Brahmins, and made a few heroic families supreme from Arachosia to the Golden Chersonese. India illustrates the power of Darius and the greatness of Alexander, the philosophy of Greece and the religion of China; and while Rome was con-

India and
its suc-
cessive
masters.

The Bood-
hists.

The Brah-
mins and
Kshutrees.

tending with Germans and Cimbri and yielding to Goths and Huns, the Hindoos absorbed, almost without an effort, swarms of Scythic barbarians: they dispersed Sacæ*, they enrolled Getæ among their most famous tribes†, and they made others serve as their valiant defenders.‡ India afterwards checked the victorious career of Islām, but she could not wholly resist the fierce enthusiasm of the Toorkmun hordes; she became one of the most splendid of Mahometan empires, and the character of the Hindoo mind has been permanently altered by the genius of the Arabian prophet. The well-being of India's industrious millions is now linked with the fate of the foremost nation of the West, and the representatives of Judæan faith and Roman polity will long wage a war of principles with the speculative Brahmin, the authoritative Moolla, and the hardy believing Sikh.

The Mahometans.

The Christians.

Brahminism struggling with Boodhism becomes elaborated.

The Brahmins and their valiant Kshutrees had a long and arduous contest with that ancient faith of India, which, as successively modified, became famous as Boodhism.§ When Munnoo wrote, perhaps nine centuries

* Vikrumajeet derived his title of Sakāree from his exploits against the Sacæ (Sakæ). The race is still perhaps preserved pure in the wilds of Tartary, between Yarkund and the Mansarāwur Lake, where the *Sokpos* called Kelmāks [Calmucs] by the Mahometans, continue to be dreaded by the people of Tibet.

† The Getæ are referred to as the same with the ancient Chinese Yuechi, and the modern Juts or Jats, but their identity is as yet perhaps rather a reasonable conclusion than a logical or critical deduction.

‡ The four Agneekoola tribes of Kshutrees or Rajpoots are here alluded to, viz.: the Chohāns, Solunkees, Pōwārs (or Prūmārs), and the Purihārs. The unnamed progenitors of these races seem clearly to have been invaders who sided with the Brahmins in their warfare, partly with the old Kshutrees, partly with

increasing schismatics, and partly with invading Græco-Bactrians, and whose warlike merit, as well as timely aid and subsequent conformity, got them enrolled as "fireborn," in contradistinction to the solar and lunar families. The Agneekoolas are now mainly found in the tract of country extending from Oojein to Rewah near Benares, and Mount Aboo is asserted to be the place of their miraculous birth or appearance. Vikrumajeet, the champion of Brahminism, was a Pōwār according to the common accounts.

§ The relative priority of Brahminism and Boodhism continues to be argued and disputed among the learned. The wide diffusion at one period of Boodhism in India is as certain as the later predominance of Brahminism; but the truth seems to be that they are of independent origin, and that they existed for a long

before Christ, when Alexander conquered, and even seven hundred years afterwards, when the obscure Fâhian travelled and studied, there were kingdoms ruled by others than "Aryas;" and ceremonial Boodhism, with its indistinct apprehensions of a divinity, had more votaries than the monotheism of the Veds, which admitted no similitude more gross than fire, or air, or the burning sun.* During this period the genius of Hin-

Its
achievements
and
characteristics.

time contemporaneously; the former chiefly in the south-west, and the latter about Oude and Tirhoot. It is not, however, necessary to suppose, with M. Burnouf, that Boodhism is purely and originally Indian. (*Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Avertissement i.) Notwithstanding the probable derivation of the name from the Sanscrit "boodee," intelligence; or from the "bō" or bōdee," i. e. the *ficus religiosa* or peepul tree. The Brahminical genius gradually received a development which rendered the Hindoos proper supreme throughout the land; but their superior learning became of help to their antagonists, and Gowtum, himself a Brahmin or a Kshutree, would appear to have taken advantage of the knowledge of the hierarchy to give a purer and more scientific form to Boodhism, and thus to become its great apostle in succeeding times. Of the modern faiths, *Saivism* perhaps most correctly represents the original Vedic worship. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 171. &c., and *Vishnoo Pooran*, Preface, lxiv.) *Jainism* and *Vaishnavism* are the resultants of the two beliefs in a Boodhish and Brahminical dress respectively, while *Saktism* still vividly illustrates the old superstition of the masses of the people, whose ignorant minds quailed before the dread goddess of famine, pestilence, and death. The most important monument of Boodhism now remaining is perhaps the "tope" or hemisphere, near Bhilsa in Central India, which it is a disgrace to the English that they partially destroyed a generation ago in

search of imaginary chambers, or vessels containing relics, and are only now about to have delineated, and so made available to the learned. The numerous *bas-reliefs* of its singular stone inclosure still vividly represent the manners as well as the belief of the India of Asoka, and show that the Tree, the Sun, and the S'toop (or "tope") itself—apparently the type of Mēroo or the Central Mount of the World—were, along with the impersonated Boodha, the principal objects of adoration at that period, and that the country was then partly peopled by a race of men wearing high caps and short tunics, so different from the ordinary dress of Hindoos.

* "There seem to have been no images and no visible types of the objects of worship," says Mr. Elphinstone, in his most useful and judicious *History* (i. 73.), quoting Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, and the *Vishnoo Pooran*; while, with regard to fire, it is to be remembered that in the Old Testament, and even in the New, it is the principal symbol of the Holy Spirit. (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, 361.) The Veds, however, allude to personified energies and attributes, but the monotheism of the system is not more affected by the introduction of the creating Brumha, the destroying Siva, and other minor powers, than the omnipotence of Jehovah is interfered with by the hierarchies of the Jewish heaven. Yet, in truth, much has to be learnt with regard to the Veds and Vedantism, notwithstanding the invaluable labors of Colebrooke and others, and the useful commentary or interpreta-

dooism became fully developed, and the Brahmins rivalled the Greeks in the greatness and the variety of their triumphs. Epic poems show high imaginative and descriptive powers, and the Ramâyoon and Muhabbârut still move the feelings and affect the character of the people. Mathematical science was so perfect, and astronomical observation so complete, that the paths of the sun and moon were accurately measured.* The philosophy of the learned few was, perhaps, for the first time, firmly allied with the theology of the believing many, and Brahminism laid down as articles of faith, the unity of God, the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. The remote dwellers upon the Ganges distinctly made known that future life about which Moses is silent or obscure†, and that unity and omnipotence of the Creator which were unknown to the polytheism of the Greek and Roman multitude‡, and to the dualism of the Mithraic legisla-

tion of Rammohun Roy. (*Asiatic Researches*, viii.; *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, i. and ii.; and *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*.) The translation of the *Vedânt Sâr* in *Ward's Hindoos* (ii. 175.), and the improved version of Dr. Roer (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb. 1845, No. 108.), may be consulted with advantage. If translators would repeat the Sanscrit terms with expanded meanings in English, instead of using terms of the scholastic or modern systems which seem to them to be equivalent, they would materially help students to understand the real doctrine of the original speculators.

* The so called solar year in common use in India takes no account of the precession of the equinoxes, but, as a sidereal year, it is almost exact. The revolution of the points of intersection of the ecliptic and equator nevertheless appears to have been long known to the Hindoos, and some of their epochs were obviously based on the calculated period of the phenomenon. (Compare Mr. Davis's paper in the *As. Res.*, vol. ii. and

Bentley's *Astronomy of the Hindoos*, pp. 2—6. 88.)

† One is almost more willing to admit that, in effect, the Jews generally held Jehovah to be *their* God only, or a liminary divinity, than that the wise and instructed Moses (whom Strabo held to be an Egyptian priest and a Pantheist, as quoted in *Volney's Ruins*, ch. xxii. sec. 9. note) could believe in the perishable nature of the soul; but the critical Sadducees nevertheless so interpreted their prophet, although the Egyptians his masters were held by Herodotus (*Euterpe*, cxxiii.) to be the first who defended the undying nature of the spirit of man. Socrates and Plato, with all their longings, could only feel assured that the soul had more of immortality than aught else. (*Phædo*, *Sydenham and Taylor's translation*, iv. 324.)

‡ The unknown God of the Athenians, Fate, the avenging Nemesis, and other powers independent of Zeus or Jupiter, show the dissatisfaction of the ancient mind with the ordinary mythology; and unless mo-

tors; while Vyâsa perhaps surpassed Plato in keeping the people tremblingly alive to the punishment which awaited evil deeds.* The immortality of the soul was indeed encumbered with the doctrine of transmigration †, the active virtues were perhaps deemed less meritorious than bodily austerities and mental abstraction, and the Brahmin polity was soon fatally clogged with the dogma of inequality among men, and with the institution of a body of hereditary guardians of religion. ‡

The Brahmins succeeded in expelling the Boodhist faith from the Indian peninsula, and when Shunkur Acharj journeyed and disputed nine hundred years after

Brahmin-
ism vic-
torious over
Boodhism.

dern criticism has detected interpolations, perhaps both Bishop Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, i. 192. &c.) and Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, i. 3. and chap. xvi. part i. generally), have too much disregarded the sense which the pious and admiring Cowper gave to Homer's occasional mode of using "theos." (*Odyssey*, xiv. with Cowper's note, p. 48. vol. ii. Edition of 1802.)

* Ritter (*Ancient Philosophy*, ii. 387.) labors to excuse Plato for his "inattention" to the subject of duty or obligation, on the plea that the Socratic system did not admit of necessity or of a compulsory principle. Bacon lies open in an inferior degree to the same objection as Plato, of underrating the importance of moral philosophy (compare Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, iii. 191. and Ma-caulay, *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1837, p. 84.); and yet a strong sense of duty towards God is essential to the well-being of society, if not to systems of transcendental or material philosophy. In the East, however, philosophy has always been more closely allied to theology than in civilized Greece or modern Europe. Plato, indeed, arraigns the dead and torments the souls of the wicked (see for instance *Gorgias*, *Sydenham and T aylor's Translation*, iv. 451.), and practically among men the doctrine may be effective or sufficient; but with the Greek piety is

simply justice towards the gods, and a matter of choice or pleasure on the part of the imperishable human spirit. (Compare Schleiermacher's *Introductions to Plato's Dialogues*, p. 181, &c., and Ritter's *Ancient Philosophy*, ii. 374.) Nor can it be distinctly said that Vyâsa taught the principle of grateful righteousness as now understood to be binding on men, and to constitute their duty and obligation; and probably the Indian may merely have the advantage of being a theological teacher instead of an ontological speculator.

† The more zealous Christian writers on Hindoo theology seize upon the doctrine of transmigration as limiting the freedom of the will and the degree of isolation of the soul, when thus successively manifested in the world clouded with the imperfection of previous appearances. A man, it is said, thus becomes subject to the Fate of the Greeks and Romans. (Compare *Ward on the Hindoos*, ii. *Introductory Remarks*, xxviii. &c.) But the soul so weighed down with the sins of a former existence does not seem to differ in an ethical point of view, and as regards our conduct in the present life, from the soul encumbered with the sin of Adam. Philosophically, the notions seem equally but modes of accounting for the existence of evil, or for its sway over men.

‡ See Appendix IV., on "Caste."

Loses its
unity and
vigor.

Christ, a few learned men, and the inoffensive half conforming Jeins*, alone remained to represent the "Mletchas," the barbarians or "gentiles" of Hindooism. The Kshutrees had acquired kingdoms, heathen princes had been subdued or converted, and the Brahmins, who ever denounced as prophets rather than preached as missionaries, were powerless in foreign countries if no royal inquirer welcomed them, or if no ambitious warrior followed them. Hindooism had attained its limits, and the victory brought with it the seeds of decay. The mixture with strangers led to a partial adoption of their usages, and man's desire for sympathy ever prompted him to seek an object of worship more nearly allied to himself in nature than the invisible and passionless divinity.† The concession of a simple black stone as a mark of direction to the senses ‡, no longer satisfied the hearts or understandings

* The modern Jeins frankly admit the connection of their faith with that of the Boodhists, and the Jeinee traders of Eastern Malwa claim the ancient "Tope," near Bhilsa, as virtually a temple of their own creed. The date of the general recognition of the Jeins as a sect is doubtful, but it is curious that the "Kōsh," or vocabulary of Ummer Singh, does not contain the word Jein, although the word "Jin" is enumerated among the names of Mayadevee, the regent goddess of the material universe, and the mother of Gowtum, the Boodhist patriarch or prophet. In the Bhagavut, again, Bowdh is represented as the son of Jin, and as about to appear in Keekut Dēs, or Behār.

† Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, i. 189.) observes that Rama and Krishna, with their human feelings and congenial acts, attracted more votaries than the gloomy Siva; and I have somewhere noticed, I think in the Edinburgh Review, the truth well enlarged upon, viz. that the sufferings of Jesus materially aided the growth of Christianity by enlisting the sympathies of the multitude in favor of a crucified God. The bitter

remark of Xenophanes, that if oxen became religious their gods would be bovine in form, is indeed most true as expressive of a general desire among men to make their divinities anthropomorphic. (Grote, *History of Greece*, iv. 523., and Thirlwall, *History*, ii. 136.)

‡ Hindoo Saivism, or the worship of the Lingam, seems to represent the compromise which the learned Brahmins made when they endeavored to exalt and purify the superstition of the multitude, who throughout India continue to this day to see the mark of the near presence of the Divinity in every thing. The Brahmins may thus have taught the mere Fetichist, that when regarding a simple black stone, they should think of the invisible ruler of the universe; and they may have wished to leave the Boodhist image worshippers some point of direction for the senses. That the Lingam is typical of reproductive energy seems wholly a notion of later times, and to be confined to the few who ingeniously or perversely see recondite meanings in ordinary similitudes. (Compare Wilson, *Vishnoo Pooran*, Preface, lxiv.)

of the people, and Shunkur Acharj, who could silence the Bauddha materialist, and confute the infidel Chârvāk*, was compelled to admit the worship of Virtues and Powers, and to allow images, as well as formless types, to be enshrined in temples. The "self-existent" needed no longer to be addressed direct, and the orthodox could pay his devotions to the Preserving Vishnoo, to the Destroying Siva, to the Regent of the Sun, to Gunês, the helper of men, or to the reproductive energy of nature personified as woman, with every assurance that his prayers would be heard, and his offerings accepted, by the Supreme Being.†

The old Brahmin worship had been domestic or solitary, and that of the Boodhists public or congregational; the Brahmin ascetic separated himself from his fellows, but the Boodhist hermit became a cœnobia, the member of a community of devotees; the Brahmin reared a family before he became an anchorite, but the Boodhist vowed celibacy and renounced most of the pleasures of sense. These customs of the vanquished had their effect upon the conquerors, and Shunkur Acharj, in his endeavor to strengthen orthodoxy, enacted the double part of St. Basil and Pope Honorius.‡ He established a monastery of Brahmin

Shunkur
Acharj
methodizes
polytheism,
800—1000
A.D.

Reaction of
Boodhism
on Brah-
minism.

Shunkur
Acharj
establishes
ascetic
orders, and
gives pre-
eminence
to Saivism.

* Professor Wilson (*Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 18.) derives the title of the Chârvāk school from a Moonee or seer of that name; but the Brahmins, at least of Malwa, derive the distinctive name, both of the teacher and of the system, from *Charoo*, persuasive, excellent, and *Vāk*, speech,—thus making the school simply the logical or dialectic, or perhaps sophistical, as it has become in fact. The Chârvākites are wholly materialist, and in deriving consciousness from a particular aggregation or condition of the elements of the body, they seem to have anticipated the physiologist Dr. Lawrence, who makes the brain to secrete thought as the liver secretes bile. The system is also styled the Vârhusputya, and the name of Vrihusputtee, the orthodox Regent of

the planet Jupiter, became connected with Atheism, say the Hindoos, owing to the jealousy with which the secondary or delegated powers of Heaven saw the degree of virtue to which man was obtaining by upright living and a contemplation of the Divinity; wherefore Vrihusputtee descended to confound the human understanding by diffusing error. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 308. and Troyer's *Dahistân*, ii. 198, note.)

† The five sects enumerated are still held to represent the most orthodox varieties of Hindooism.

‡ All scholars and inquirers are deeply indebted to Professor Wilson for the account he has given of the Hindoo sects in the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*. The works, indeed, which are ab-

Ramanooj
establishes
other
orders, with
Vishnoo as a
tutelary
god,
1000—
1200 A.D.

ascetics; he converted the solitary "Dundee," with his staff and waterpot, into one of an order, a monk or friar, at once cœnobitic and mendicant, who lived upon alms and who practised chastity.* The order was rendered still further distinct by the choice of Siva as the truest type of God, an example which was soon followed; and, during the eleventh century, Ramanooj established a fraternity of Brahmins, named after himself, who adopted some refined rules of conduct, who saw the Deity in Vishnoo, and who degraded the Supreme Being by attributing to him form and qualities.† A consequence of the institution of an order or fraternity is the necessity of attention to its rules, or to the injunctions of the spiritual superior. The person of a Brahmin had always been held sacred. It was believed that a pious Boodhist could disengage his soul or attain to divinity even in this world; and when Shunkur

stracted, are in the hands of many people in India, particularly the Bhuggut Mala (or History of the Saints) and its epitomes; but the advantage is great of being able to study the subject with the aid of the notes of a deep scholar personally acquainted with the country. It is only to be regretted that Professor Wilson has not attempted to trace the progress of opinion or reform among sectaries; but neither does such a project appear to have occurred to Mr. Ward, in his elaborate and valuable but piecemeal volumes on the Hindoos. Mohsun Fānee, who wrote the Dabistān, has even less of sequence or of argument, but the observations and views of an intelligent, although garrulous and somewhat credulous Mahometan, who flourished nearly two centuries ago, have nevertheless a peculiar value; and Capt. Troyer's careful translation has now rendered the book accessible to the English public.

* Shunkur Acharj was a Brahmin of the south of India, and according to Professor Wilson (*As. Res.*, xvii. 180.), he flourished during the eighth or ninth century: but his date is

doubtful, and if, as is commonly said, Ramanooj was his disciple and sister's son, he perhaps lived a century or a century and a half later. He is believed to have established four muths, or monasteries, or denominations, headed by the four out of his ten instructed disciples, who faithfully adhered to his views. The adherents of these four are specially regarded as "Dundeeds," or, including the representatives of the six heretical schools, the whole are called "Dusnames." (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 169. &c.)

† Ramanooj is variously stated to have lived some time between the beginning of the eleventh, and the end of the twelfth century. (Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 28, note.) In Central India he is understood to have told his uncle that the path which he, Shunkur Acharj, had chosen, was not the right one; and the nephew accordingly seceded and established the first four "sumprdaees," or congregations, in opposition to the four muths or orders of his teacher, and at the same time chose Vishnoo as the most suitable type of God. Ramanooj styled his congregation that of Sree,

Acharj rejected some of his chosen disciples for non-conformity or disobedience, he contributed to centre the growing feelings of reverence for the teacher solely upon a mortal man ; and, in a short time, it was considered that all things were to be abandoned for the sake of the "Gooroo," and that to him were to be surrendered "Tun, Mun, Dhun," or body, mind, and worldly wealth.* Absolute submission to the spiritual master readily becomes a lively impression of the divinity of his mission ; the inward evidences of grace are too subtle for the understanding of the barbaric convert ; fixed observances take the place of sentiment, and he justifies his change of opinion by some material act of devotion.† But faith is the usual test of sincerity and pledge of favor among the sectarians of peaceful and instructed communities, and the reformers of India soon began to require such a declaration of mystic belief and reliance from the seekers of salvation.

Spiritual teachers or heads of orders arrogate infallibility.

Philosophic speculation had kept pace in diversity with religious usage : learning and wealth, and an extended intercourse with men, produced the ordinary tendency towards scepticism, and six orthodox schools opposed six heretical systems, and made devious attempts to acquire a knowledge of God by logical deductions from the phenomena of nature or of the human mind.‡ They disputed about the reality and the eternity of matter ; about consciousness and understanding ; and about life and the soul, as separate from,

Scepticism and heresy increase.

or Lukshmee. The other three were successively founded by 1st, Madhuv ; 2dly, by Vishnoo Swamee and his better known follower Vullubh ; and 3dly, by Nimbharuk or Nimbhaditya. These, although all Vaishnavees, called their assemblies or schools respectively after Brumha, and Siva, and Sunnukâdik, a son of Brumha. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 27, &c.)

* Compare Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 90.

† The reader will remember the fervent exclamation of Clovis, when, listening after a victory to the story

of the passion and death of Christ, he became a convert to the faith of his wife, and a disciple of the ancient pastor of Rheims: "Had I been present at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vi. 302.) The Mahometans tell precisely the same story of Tymoor and Hosein the son of Alee: "I would have hurried," said the conquering Tartar, "from remotest India, to have prevented or avenged the death of the martyred Imâm."

‡ See Appendix V.

The dogma of "Maya" receives a moral application.

or as identical with one another and with God. The results were, the atheism of some, the belief of others in a liminary deity, and the more general reception of the doctrine of "Maya" or illusion, which allows sensation to be a true guide on this side of the grave, but sees nothing certain or enduring in the constitution of the material world; — a doctrine eagerly adopted by the subsequent reformers, who gave it a moral or religious application.*

General decline of Brahminism.

Such was the state of the Hindoo faith or polity a thousand years after Christ. The fitness of the original system for general adoption had been materially impaired by the gradual recognition of a distinction of race; the Brahmins had isolated themselves from the soldiers and the peasants, and they destroyed their own unanimity by admitting a virtual plurality of gods, and by giving assemblies of ascetics a preeminence over communities of pious householders. In a short time the gods were regarded as rivals, and their worshippers as antagonists. The rude Kshutree warrior became a politic chief, with objects of his own, and ready to prefer one hierarchy or one divinity to another; while the very latitude of the orthodox worship, led the multitude to doubt the sincerity and the merits of a body of ministers who no longer harmonized among themselves.

Early Arab incursions into India but little felt.

A new people now entered the country, and a new element hastened the decline of corrupted Hindooism. India had but little felt the earlier incursions of the Arabs during the first and second centuries of the "Hijree;" and when the Abbasides became caliphs, they were more anxious to consolidate their vast empire, already weakened by the separation of Spain, than to waste their means on distant conquests which rebellion might soon dismember. The Arab, moreover, was no longer a single-minded enthusiastic soldier, but a selfish and turbulent viceroy; the original impulse given by the prophet to his countrymen had achieved its limit of conquest, and Mahometanism required a new infusion of

* See Appendix VI.

faith and hardihood to enable it to triumph over the heathens of Delhi and the Christians of Constantinople. This awakening spirit was acquired partly from the mountain Koords, but chiefly from the pastoral Toorkmuns, who, from causes imperfectly understood, were once more impelled upon the fertile and wealthy south. During the ninth century, these warlike shepherds began to establish themselves from the Indus to the Black Sea, and they oppressed and protected the empire of Mahomet, as Goths and Vandals and their own progenitors had before entered and defended and absorbed the dominions of Augustus and Trajan. Toghrul Beg and Saladin are the counterparts of Stilicho and Theodoric, and the Moollas and Syeds of Bagdad were as anxious for the conversion of unbelievers as the bishops and deacons of the Greek and Latin Churches. The migratory barbarians who fell upon Europe became Christians, and those who plundered Asia adopted, with perhaps greater ease and ardor, the more congenial creed of Islâm. Their vague unstable notions yielded to the authority of learning and civilization, and to the majesty of one omnipotent God, and thus armed with religion as a motive, and empire as an object, the Toorks precipitated themselves upon India and upon the diminished provinces of the Byzantine Cæsars.

Mahometanism receives a fresh impulse on the conversion of the Toorkmuns.

Mehmood crossed the Indus in the year 1001, not long after Shunkur Acharj had vainly endeavored to arrest the progress of heresy, and to give limits to the diversity of faith which perplexed his countrymen. The Punjab was permanently occupied, and before the sultan's death, Canouj and Goojrat had been overrun. The Ghuznevides were expelled by the Ghorees about 1183: Bengal was conquered by these usurpers, and when the Eibek Toorks supplanted them in 1206, Hindoostan became a separate portion of the Mahometan world. During the next hundred and fifty years the whole of India was subdued; a continued influx of Moghuls in the thirteenth, and of Afghans in the fifteenth century, added to their successive authority as

Mehmood invades India, 1001 A. D.

Hindoostan becomes a separate portion of the Mahometan world under the Eibeks, 1206 A. D.

And the
conquerors
become
Indianized.

rulers, gradually changed the language and the thoughts of the vanquished. The Khiljees and Toghluks and Lodees were too rude to be inquisitorial bigots; they had a lawful option in tribute, and taxation was more profitable, if less meritorious, than conversion. They adopted as their own the country which they had conquered. Numerous mosques attest their piety and munificence, and the introduction of the solar instead of the intractable lunar year, proves their attention to ordinary business and the wants of agriculture.* The Mahometans became Indianized; and, in the sixteenth century, the great Akber conceived the design of establishing a national government or monarchy which should unite the elements of the two systems: but political obedience does not always denote social amalgamation, and the reaction upon the Moslem mind perhaps increased that intolerance of Aurungzeb which hastened the ruin of the dynasty.

Action and
reaction of
Mahomet-
anism and
Brahmin-
ism.

The influence of a new people, who equalled or surpassed Kshutrees in valor, who despised the sanctity of Brahmins, and who authoritatively proclaimed the unity of God and his abhorrence of images, began gradually to operate on the minds of the multitudes of India, and recalled even the learned to the simple tenets of the Veds, which Shunkur Acharj had disregarded. The

* The solar, i. e. really sidereal year, called the "Shuhoor Sun," or vulgarly the "Soor Sun," that is, the year of (Arabic) months, was apparently introduced into the Deccan by Toghluk Shah, towards the middle of the fourteenth century of Christ, or between 1341 and 1344, and it is still used by the Mahrattas in all their more important documents, the dates being inserted in Arabic words written in Hindee (Mahrattee) characters. (Compare Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, ii. 30. who refers to a Report, by Lieut. Col. Jervis, on Weights and Measures.) The other "Fuslee," or "harvest" years of other parts of India, were not introduced until the

reigns of Akber and Shah Jehan, and they mostly continue to this day to be used, even by the English, in revenue accounts. The commencement of each night, without much violence, be adapted to the 1st July of any year of the Christian era, and the Mahometans and Hindoos could at the same time retain, the former the Hijree, and the latter the Shuk (Sāka) and Sumbut, names of the months respectively. No greater degree of uniformity or simplicity is required, and the general predominance of the English would render a measure so obviously advantageous of easy introduction.

operation was necessarily slow, for the imposing system of powers and emanations had been adapted with much industry to the local or peculiar divinities of tribes and races, and in the lapse of ages the legislation of Munnoo had become closely interwoven with the thoughts and habits of the people. Nor did the proud distinctions of caste and the reverence shown to Brahmins, fail to attract the notice and the admiration of the barbarous victors. Shekhs and Syeds had an innate holiness assigned to them, and Moghuls and Puthâns copied the exclusiveness of Rajpoots. New superstition also emulated old credulity. "Peers" and "Shuheeds," saints and martyrs, equalled Krishna and Bheiruv in the number of their miracles, and the Mahometans almost forgot the unity of God in the multitude of intercessors whose aid they implored. Thus custom jarred with custom, and opinion with opinion, and while the few always fell back with confidence upon their revelations, the Korân and Veds, the public mind became agitated, and found no sure resting-place with Brahmins or Moollas, with Muhadeo or Mahomet.*

The popular belief unsettled.

* Gibbon has shown (*History*, ii. 356.) how the scepticism of learned Greeks and Romans proved favorable to the growth of Christianity, and a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (for June, 1846, p. 116.) makes some just observations on the same subject. The cause of the scepticism is not perhaps sufficiently attributed to the mixture of the Eastern and Western superstitions, which took place after the conquests of Alexander, and during the supremacy of Rome.

Similarly the influence of Mahometan learning and civilization in moulding the European mind, seems to be underrated in the present day, although Hallam (*Literature of Europe*, i. 90, 91. 149, 150. 157, 158. 189, 190.) admits our obligations in physical, and even in mental, science; and a representative of Oxford, the critical yet fanciful William Gray (*Sketch of English Prose Literature*,

p. 22. 37.), not only admires the fictions of the East, but confesses their beneficial effect on the Gothic genius. The Arabs, indeed, were the preservers and diffusers of that science or knowledge which was brought forth in Egypt or India, which was reduced to order in Greece and Rome, and which has been so greatly extended in particular directions by the moderns of the West. The preeminence of the Mahometan over the Christian mind, was long conspicuous in the metaphysics of the schoolmen, and it is still apparent in the administrative system of Spain, in the common terms of astronomical and medicinal science, and in the popular songs of feudal Europe, which ever refer to the Arabian prophet and to Turks and Saracens, or expatiate on the actions of the Cid, a Christian hero with a Mussulman title.

Whewell (*History of Inductive*

Ramanund establishes a comprehensive sect at Benares, about 1400 A. D. ;

and introduces hero worship ; but maintains the equality of true believers before God.

The first result of the conflict was the institution, about the end of the fourteenth century, of a comprehensive sect by Ramanund of Benares, a follower of the tenets of Ramanooj. Unity of faith or of worship had already been destroyed, and the conquest of the country by foreigners diminished unity of action among the ministers of religion. Learning had likewise declined, and poetic fancy and family tradition were allowed to modify the ancient legends of the "Poorâns" or chronicles, and to usurp the authority of the Veds.* The heroic Rama was made the object of devotion to this new sect of the middle Ganges, and as the doctrine of the innate superiority of Brahmins and Kshutrees had been rudely shaken by the Mahometan ascendancy, Ramanund seized upon the idea of man's equality before God. He instituted no nice distinctive observances, he admitted all classes of people as his disciples, and he declared that the true votary was raised above mere social forms, and became free or liberated.† During

Sciences, i. 22. 276.), in demonstrating that the Arabs did very little, if aught, to advance exact science, physical or metaphysical, and in likening them to the servant who had the talent but put it not to use, might yet have excused them on the plea that the genius of the people was directed to the propagation of religious truth—to subjecting the Evil Principle to the Good in Persia, to restoring Monotheism in India, and to the subversion of gross idolatry in regions of Africa still untrodden by Europeans. [With this view of the English professor may be contrasted the opinion of Humboldt, who emphatically says that the Arabs are to be regarded as the proper founders of the *physical sciences*, in the sense which we are now accustomed to attach to the term. (*Kosmos*, Sabine's *Trans.* ii. 212.)]

* Modern criticism is not disposed to allow an ancient date to the Poorâns, and doubtless the interpolations are both numerous and recent,

just as the ordinary copies of the rhapsodies of the Rajpoot Bhât, or Bard, Chund, contain allusions to dynasties and events subsequent to Pirthee Raj and Mehmood. The difficulty lies in separating the old from the new, and perhaps also objectors have too much lost sight of the circumstance that the criticized and less corrupted Ramayoon and Muhabharat are only the chief of the Poorâns. They seem needlessly inclined to reject entirely the authority or authenticity of the conventional Eighteen Chronicles, merely because eulogiums on modern families have been introduced by successive flatterers. Nevertheless the Poorâns must rather be held to illustrate modes of thought, than to describe historical events with accuracy.

† Compare *Dahistân*, ii. 179. and Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 36. &c. Professor Wilson remarks (*idem*, p. 44., and also xvii. 183.), that the sects of Shunkur Acharj and Ramanooj included Brahmins only, and indeed

the same century the learned enthusiast Gorukhnath gave popularity, especially in the Punjab, to the doctrine of the "Yog," which belonged more properly as a theory or practice to the Boodhist faith, but which was equally adopted as a philosophic dogma by the followers of Vyâsa and of Shâkya. It was, however, held that in this "Kulyoog," or iron age, fallen man was unequal to so great a penance, or to the attainment of complete beatitude; but Gorukh taught that intense mental abstraction would etherialize the body of the most lowly, and gradually unite his spirit with the all-pervading soul of the world. He chose Siva as the deity who would thus bless the austere perseverance of his votaries of whatever caste; and, not content with the ordinary frontal marks of sects and persuasions, he distinguished his disciples by boring their ears, whence they are familiarly known as the "Kanphutta," or ear-torn Joghees.*

Gorukh-nath establishes a sect in the Punjab,

and maintains the equalizing effect of religious penance;

but causes further diversity by adopting Siva as the type of God.

chiefly men of learning of that race. The followers of Ramanund, or the Vaishnuvees, were long violently opposed to the Saivc denominations; so much so, according to tradition, that they would not, on any account, cross the Nerbudda river, which is held to be peculiarly sacred to Muhadeo or Muhês, but would rather, in performing a journey go round by its sources.

Among the people of Central India there is a general persuasion that the Nerbudda will one day take the place of the Ganges as the most holy of streams; but the origin of the feeling is not clear, as neither is the fact of the consecration of the river to Siva. At Muhêswur, indeed, there is a whirlpool, which, by rounding and polishing fallen stones, rudely shapes them into resemblances of a Lingam; and which are as fertile a source of profit to the resident priests, as are the Vaishnuvee fossil ammonites of a particular part of the Himalayas. The labors of the whirlpool likewise diffuse a sanctitude over all the stones of the rocky

channel, as expressed in the vernacular sentence, "Rehwa ke kunkur sub sunkur sumân," i. e. each stone of the Nerbudda (Rehwa) is divine, or equal to Siva.

Muhêswur was the seat of Suhêsr B'how, or of the hundred-handed Kshutree king, who was slain by Purs Ram, of the not very far distant town of Nimâwur opposite Hindia; a probable occurrence, which was soon made the type, or the cause, of the destruction of the ancient warrior race by the Brahmins.

* Compare Wilson (*As. Res.*, xvii. 183. &c.) and the *Dabistân* (*Troyer's Translation*, i. 123. &c.). In the latter, Mohsun Fânee shows some points of conformity between the Joghees and the Mahometans. With regard to Yôg, in a scientific point of view, it may be observed that it corresponds with the state of abstraction or self-consciousness which raised the soul above mortality or chance, and enabled it to apprehend the "true," and to grasp Plato's "idea," or archical form of the world, and that neither Indians nor Greeks considered man

D

The Veds
and Koran
assailed by
Kubeer, a
disciple of
Ramanund,
about
1450 A.D. ;

and the
mother
tongue of
the people
used as an
instrument.

But asce-
ticism still
upheld.

A step was thus made, and faith and abandonment of the pleasures of life were held to abrogate the distinctions of race which had taken so firm a hold on the pride and vanity of the rich and powerful. In the next generation, or about the year 1450, the mysterious weaver Kubeer, a disciple of Ramanund, assailed at once the worship of idols, the authority of the Korân and Shasters, and the exclusive use of a learned language. He addressed Mahometans as well as Hindoos, he urged them to call upon him, the invisible Kubeer, and to strive continually after inward purity. He personified creation or the world as "Maya," or as woman, prolific of deceit and illusion, and thus denounced man's weakness or his proneness to evil. Practically, Kubeer admitted outward conformity, and leant towards Rama or Vishnoo as the most perfect type of God. Like his predecessors he erringly gave shape and attributes to the divinity, and he further limited the application of his doctrines of reform, by declaring retirement from the world to be desirable, and the "Sâdh," or pure or perfect man, the passive or inoffensive votary, to be the living resemblance of the Almighty. The views, however, of Kubeer are not very distinctly laid down or clearly understood ; but the latitude of usage which he

capable, in his present imperfect condition, of attaining to such a degree of "union with God," or "knowledge of the true." (Compare Ritter, *Ancient Philosophy*, Morrison's Translation, ii. 207. 334—336., and Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 185.) Were it necessary to pursue the correspondence further, it would be found that Plato's whole system is almost identical, in its rudimental characteristics, with the schemes of Koopêl and Puttunjul jointly: thus, God and matter are in both eternal; Muhut, or intelligence, or the informing spirit of the world, is the same with *nous* or *logos*, and so on. [With both God, that is "Poorsh" in the one and the Supreme God in the other, would seem to be separate from the world as appreciable by man. It may further

be observed, that the Sâkhya system is divided into two schools, independent of that of Puttunjul, the first of which regards "Poorsh" simply as life, depending for activity upon "adrisht," chance or fate, while the second holds the term to denote an active and provident ruler, and gives to vitality a distinct existence. The school of Puttunjul differs from this latter, principally in its terminology and in the mode (Yôg) laid down for attaining bliss—one of the four subdivisions of which mode, viz. that of stopping the breath, is allowed to be the doctrine of Gorukh, but is declared to have been followed of old by Markund, in a manner more agreeable to the Veds than the practice of the recent Reformer.]

sanctioned, and his employment of a spoken dialect, have rendered his writings extensively popular among the lower orders of India.*

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the reforms of Ramanund were introduced into Bengal by Cheitun, a Brahmin of Nuddeea. He converted some Mahometans, and admitted all classes as members of his sect. He insisted upon "Bhuktee," or faith, as chastening the most impure; he allowed marriage and secular occupations; but his followers abused the usual injunction of reverence for the teacher, and some of them held that the Gooroo was to be invoked before God.† About the same period Vullubh Swamee, a Brahmin of Telingana, gave a further impulse to the reformation in progress, and he taught that married teachers were not only admissible as directors of the conscience, but that the householder was to be preferred, and that the world was to be enjoyed by both master and disciple. This principle was readily adopted by the peaceful mercantile classes, and "Gosayens," as the conductors of family worship, have acquired a commanding influence over the industrious Quietists of the country; but they have

Cheitun preaches religious reform in Bengal, 1500—1550 A.D. Insists upon the efficacy of faith, and admits of secular occupations. Vullubh extends the reformation to the south, and further discountenances celibacy, about 1550 A.D.

* Compare the *Dabistân*, ii. 184. &c., Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 53., and Ward's *Hindoos*, iii. 406. Kubeer is an Arabic word, meaning the greatest, and Professor Wilson doubts whether any such person ever existed, and considers the Kubeer of Mohsun Fânee to be the personification of an idea, or that the title was assumed by a Hindoo freethinker as a disguise. The name, however, although significant, is now at least not uncommon, and perhaps the ordinary story that Kubeer was a foundling, reared by a weaver, and subsequently admitted as a disciple by Ramanund, is sufficiently probable to justify his identity. His body is stated to have been claimed both by the Hindoos and Mahometans, and Mohsun Fânee observes that many Mahometans became Byrâghees, i. e. ascetics of the modern Vaishnuee sect, of which the followers of Ramanund and Kubeer

form the principal subdivisions. (*Dabistân*, ii. 193.) As a further instance of the fusion of feeling then, and now, going forward, the reply of the Hindoo deist, Akâmnâth, to the keepers of the Kaaba at Mecca, may be quoted. He first scandalised them by asking where was the master of the house; and he then inquired why the idols had been thrown out. He was told that the works of men were not to be worshipped; whereupon he inquired whether the temple itself was not reared with hands, and therefore undeserving of respect. (*Dabistân*, ii. 117.)

† For an account of Cheitun and his followers, compare Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 109. &c., and Ward on the *Hindoos*, iii. 467. &c.; and for some apposite remarks on Bhuktee or faith, see Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 312.

at the same time added to the diversity of the prevailing idolatry by giving preeminence to Bāla Gopāl, the *infant* Krishna, as the very God of the Universe.*

Recapitulation.

Thus, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hindoo mind was no longer stagnant or retrogressive ; it had been leavened with Mahometanism, and changed and quickened for a new development. Ramanund and Gorukh had preached religious equality, and Cheitun had repeated that faith levelled caste. Kubeer had denounced images, and appealed to the people in their own tongue, and Vullubh had taught that effectual devotion was compatible with the ordinary duties of the world. But these good and able men appear to have been so impressed with the nothingness of this life, that they deemed the amelioration of man's social condition to be unworthy of a thought. They aimed chiefly at emancipation from priestcraft, or from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism. They formed pious associations of contented Quietists, or they gave themselves up to the contemplation of futurity in the hope of approaching bliss, rather than called upon their fellow creatures to throw aside every social as well as religious trammel, and to arise a new people freed from the debasing corruption of ages. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations, and their *sects* remain to this day as they left them. It was reserved for *Nānuk* to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those broad foundations which enabled his successor *Govind* to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes.

The reforms partial, and leading to sectarianism only.

Nānuk's views more comprehensive and profound.

Nānuk's birth and early life, 1469 A.D.

Nānuk was born in the year 1469, in the neighbour-

* See Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 85. &c. ; and for an account of the corresponding Vaishnuvee sect of Madhuv, which has, however, a leaning to Saivism, see also Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 100. (See also Appendix VII., for some remarks on the Metaphysics of Indian Reformers.)

1469—
1529.

hood of Lahore.* His father, Kaloo, was a Hindoo of the Behdee subdivision of the once warlike Kshutrees, and he was, perhaps, like most of his race, a petty trader in his native village.† Nānuk appears to have been naturally of a pious disposition and of a reflecting mind, and there is reason to believe that in his youth he made himself familiar with the popular creeds both of the Mahometans and Hindoos, and that he gained a general knowledge of the Korān and of the Brahminical Shasters.‡ His good sense and fervid temper left him displeased with the corruptions of the vulgar faith, and dissatisfied with the indifference of the learned, or with

* Nānuk is generally said to have been born in Tulwundee, a village on the Ravee above Lahore, which was held by one Raee Bhooa, of the Bhuttee tribe. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 78., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 292-3.) But one manuscript account states that, although the father of Nānuk was of Tulwundee, the teacher himself was born in Kanakāth, about fifteen miles southerly from Lahore, in the house of his mother's parents. It is indeed not uncommon in the Punjab for women to choose their own parents' home as the place of their confinement, especially of their first child, and the children thus born are frequently called Nānuk (or Nanukée, in the feminine), from *Nankeh*, one's mother's parents. Nānuk is thus a name of usual occurrence, both among Hindoos and Mahometans, of the poor or industrious classes. The accounts agree as to the year of Nānuk's birth, but differ, while they affect precision, with regard to the day of the month on which he was born. Thus one narrative gives the 13th, and another the 18th, of the month Kartik, of the year 1526 of Vikramajet, which corresponds with the latter end of 1469 of Christ.

† In the Seir ool Mutākhereen (*Briggs' Translation*, i. 110.) it is stated that Nānuk's father was a grain merchant, and in the Dabistān (ii. 247.) that Nānuk himself was a

grain factor. The Sikh accounts are mostly silent about the occupation of the father, but they represent the sister of Nānuk to have been married to a corn factor, and state that he was himself placed with his brother-in-law to learn, or to give aid, in carrying on the business.

‡ A manuscript compilation in Persian mentions that Nānuk's first teacher was a Mahometan. The Seir ool Mutākhereen (i. 110.) states that Nānuk was carefully educated by one Syed Hussun, a neighbour of his father's, who conceived a regard for him, and who was wealthy but childless. Nānuk is further said, in the same book, to have studied the most approved writings of the Mahometans. According to Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 14.), Nānuk is reported, by the Mahometans, to have learnt all earthly sciences from Khizzer, i. e. the prophet Elias. The ordinary Mahometan accounts also represent Nānuk, when a child, to have astonished his teacher, by asking him the hidden import of the first letter of the alphabet, which is almost a straight stroke in Persian and Arabic, and which is held even vulgarly to denote the unity of God. The reader will remember that the apocryphal gospels state how Christ, before he was twelve years old, perplexed his instructors, and explained to them the mystical significance of the alphabetical characters. (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, i. 272.)

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1529.

The mental
struggles of
Nānuk.

the refuge which they sought in the specious abstractions of philosophy; nor is it improbable that the homilies of Kubeer and Gorukh had fallen upon his susceptible mind with a powerful and enduring effect.*

In a moment of enthusiasm the ardent inquirer abandoned his home, and strove to attain wisdom by penitent meditation, by study, and by an enlarged intercourse with mankind.† He travelled, perhaps, beyond the limits of India, he prayed in solitude, he reflected on the Veds and on the mission of Mahomet, and he questioned with equal anxiety the learned priest and the simple devotee about the will of God and the path to happiness.‡ Plato and Bacon, Des Cartes and Algha-

* Extracts or selections from the writings of Kubeer, appear in the Adee Grunt'h, and Kubeer is often, and Gorukh sometimes, quoted or referred to.

† A chance meeting with some Fukeers (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 8. 13.) and the more methodical instructions of a Dervish (*Dabistān*, ii. 247.), are each referred to as having subdued the mind of Nānuk, or as having given him the impulse which determined the future course of his life. In Malcolm may be seen those stories which please the multitude, to the effect that although Nānuk, when the spirit of God was upon him, bestowed all the grain in his brother-in-law's stores in charity, they were nevertheless always found replenished; or that Dowlut Khan Lodoe, the employer of Nānuk's brother-in-law, although aware that much had really been given away, nevertheless found everything correct on balancing the accounts of receipts and expenditure.

The Sikh accounts represent Nānuk to have met the Emperor Baber, and to have greatly edified the adventurous sovereign by his demeanor and conversation, while he perplexed him by saying that both were kings, and were about to found dynasties of ten. I have traced but two allusions to Baber by name, and one by obvious inference, in the Adee Grunt'h, viz. in the Assa Rag and Teilung por-

tions, and these bear reference simply to the destruction of a village, and to his incursions as a conqueror. Mohsun Fanee (*Dabistān*, ii. 249.) preserves an idle report that Nānuk, being dissatisfied with the Afghans, called the Moghuls into India.

‡ Nānuk is generally said to have travelled over the whole of India, to have gone through Persia, and to have visited Mecca (compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 16. and Forster, *Travels*, i. 295-6.); but the number of years he employed in wandering, and the date of his final return to his native province, are alike uncertain. He had several companions, among whom Merdāna, the rubābee or harper (or rather a chaunter, and player upon a stringed instrument like a guitar), Lehna, who was his successor, Bala, a Sindhoo Jut, and Ram Das, styled Boodha or the Ancient, are the most frequently referred to. In pictorial representations Merdāna always accompanies Nānuk. When at Mecca, a story is related that Nānuk was found sleeping with his feet towards the temple, that he was angrily asked how he dared to dishonor the house of the Lord, and that he replied, Could he turn his feet where the house of God was not? (Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 159.) Nānuk adopted, sometimes at least, the garb of a Mahometan Dervish, and at Mooltan he visited an assem-

zâli, examined the current philosophic systems of the world, without finding a sure basis of truth for the operations of the intellect; and, similarly, the heart of the pious NânuK sought hopelessly for a resting-place amid the conflicting creeds and practices of men. All was error, he said; he had read Korâns and Poorâns, but God he had nowhere found.* He returned to his native land, he threw aside the habit of an ascetic, he became again the father of his family, and he passed the remainder of his long life in calling upon men to worship the One Invisible God, to live virtuously, and to be tolerant of the failings of others. The mild demeanor, the earnest piety, and persuasive eloquence of NânuK, are ever the themes of praise, and he died at the age of seventy, leaving behind him many zealous and admiring disciples.†

1469—
1529.

He becomes
a teacher.

Dies, aged
seventy,
1539 A.D.

The excel-
lencies of
NânuK's
doctrine.

NânuK combined the excellencies of preceding reformers, and he avoided the more grave errors into which they had fallen. Instead of the circumscribed divinity, the anthropomorphous God of Ramanund and

bly of Mussulman devotees, saying he was hut as the stream of the Ganges entering the ocean of holiness. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 21. and the *Seir ool Mutâkhereen*, i. 311.)

* There is current a verse imputed to NânuK, to the effect that —

“Several scriptures and books had he read,

But one (God) he had not found:
Several Korâns and Poorâns had he read,

But faith he could not put in any.”

The Adeë Grunt'h abounds with passages of a similar tenor, and in the supplemental portion, called the Rutun Mala, NânuK says, “Man may read Veds and Korâns, and reach to a temporary bliss, but without God salvation is unattainable.”

† The accounts mostly agree as to the date of NânuK's death, and they place it in 1596 of Vikrumajeet, or 1539 of Christ. A Goormookhee abstract states precisely, that he was a teacher for seven years, five months,

and seven days, and that he died on the 10th of the Hindoo month Asowj. Forster (*Travels*, i. 295.) represents that he travelled for fifteen years. NânuK died at Kurtârpoor, on the Ravee, about forty miles above Lahore, where there is a place of worship sacred to him. He left two sons, Sreechund, an ascetic, whose name lives as the founder of the Hindoo sect of Oodassees, and Lutchmee Das, who devoted himself to pleasure, and of whom nothing particular is known. The Nanukpotras, or descendants of NânuK, called also Sahibzadas, or sons of the master, are every where revered among Sikhs, and if traders, some privileges are conceded to them by the chiefs of their country. Mohsun Fânee observes (*Dabistân*, ii. 253.), that the representatives of NânuK were known as Kurtârees, meaning, perhaps, rather that they were held to be holy or devoted to the service of God, than that they were simply residents of Kurtârpoor.

D 4

1469—
1529.
The god-
head.

Maho-
metans and
Hindoos
equally
called on to
worship
God in
truth.
Faith, grace,
and good
works all
necessary.

Kubeer, he loftily invokes the Lord as the one, the sole, the timeless being; the creator, the self-existent, the incomprehensible, and the everlasting. He likens the Deity to Truth, which was before the world began, which is, and which shall endure for ever, as the ultimate idea or cause of all we know or behold.* He addresses equally the Moolla and the Pundit, the Dervish and the Soonyassee, and tells them to remember *that* Lord of Lords who had seen come and go numberless Mahomets, and Vishnoos, and Sivas.† He tells them that virtues and charities, heroic acts and gathered wisdom, are nought of themselves, that the only knowledge which availeth is the knowledge of God‡; and then, as if to rebuke those vain men who saw eternal life in their own act of faith, he declares that they only can find the Lord on whom the Lord looks with favor.§ Yet the extension of grace is linked with the exercise of our will and the beneficent use of our faculties. God, said Nānuk, places salvation in good

* See the *Adee Grunt'h*, in, for instance, the portion called *Gowree Rag*, and the prefatory *Jup*, or prayer of admonition and remembrance. Compare also Wilkins, *Asiatic Researches*, i. 289. &c.

"Akalsoorik," or the Timeless Being, is the ordinary Sikh appellation of God, corresponding idiomatically with the "Almighty," in English. Yet Govind, in the Second Grunt'h (Huzāra Shubd portion), apostrophizes Time itself as the only true God, for God was the first and the last, the being without end, &c.

Milton assigns to 'time a casual or limited use only, and Shakspeare makes it finite:—

"For time, though in eternity applied To motion, measures all things durable

By present, past, and future."

Paradise Lost, v.

"But thought's the slave of life, and life, time's fool;

And time, that takes survey of all the world,

Must have a stop."

Henry IV. Part First, v. 4.

Three of the modern philosophising schools of India, viz. a division of the Sankhyas, the Pauraniks, and the Saivas, make Kāl, or time, one of the twenty-seven, or thirty, or thirty-six component essences or phenomena of the universe of matter and mind, and thus give it distinct functions, or a separate existence.

† A passage of Nānuk's in the supplement to the *Adee Grunt'h*, after saying that there have been multitudes of prophets, teachers, and holy men, concludes thus:—

"The Lord of Lords is the One God, the Almighty God himself;
Oh Nānuk! his qualities are beyond comprehension."

‡ See the *Adee Grunt'h*, towards the end of the portion called *Assa*.

§ See the *Adee Grunt'h*, end of the *Assa Rag*, and in the supplementary portion called the *Ruttun Mala*.

works and uprightness of conduct : the Lord will ask of man, "What has he done : " * — and the teacher further required timely repentance of men, saying, "If not until the day of reckoning the sinner abaseth himself, punishment shall overtake him." †

Nānuk adopted the philosophical system of his countrymen, and regarded bliss as the dwelling of the soul with God after its punitory transmigrations should have ceased. Life, he says, is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is, as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot. ‡ He makes the same uses of the current language or notions of the time on other subjects, and thus says, he who remains bright amid darkness (Ujun), unmoved amid deceit (Maya), that is, perfect amid temptation, should attain happiness. § But it would be idle to suppose that he speculated upon being, or upon the material world, after the manner of Plato or Vyâsa || ; and it would be unreasonable to condemn him because he preferred the doctrine of a succession of habiliments, and the possible purification of the most sinful soul, to the resurrection of the same body, and the pains of everlasting fire.* Nānuk also referred

1469—
1529.

Nānuk adopts the Brahminical philosophy ; but in a popular sense, or by way of illustration only.

* The *Adee Grunt'h*, *Purbhatee Raginee*. Compare Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 161.) and Wilkins (*As. Res.*, i. 289. &c.).

† See the *Nussecut Nameh*, or admonition of Nānuk to Karon, a fabulous monarch, which, however, is not admitted into the *Grunt'h*, perhaps because its personal or particular application is not in keeping with the abstract and general nature of that book. Neither, indeed, is it certainly known to be Nānuk's composition, although it embodies many of his notions.

‡ *Adee Grunt'h*, end of the *Assa Rag*.

§ *Adee Grunt'h*, in the *Sohee* and *Ramkullee* portions.

|| See Appendix VIII.

¶ The usual objection of the Mahometans to the Hindoo doctrine of transmigration, is, that the wicked soul of this present world has no re-

membrance of its past condition and bygone punishments, and does not, therefore, bring with it any inherent incentive to holiness. The Mahometans, however, do not show that a knowledge of the sin of Adam, and consequent corruption of his posterity, is instinctive to a follower of Christ or to a disciple of their own prophet ; and, metaphysically, an impartial thinker will perhaps prefer the Brahmin doctrine of a soul finally separated from the changeable matter of our senses, to the Egyptian scheme of the resurrection of the corruptible body, — a notion which seems to have impressed itself on the Israelites notwithstanding the silence of Moses, and which resisted for centuries the action of other systems, and which was at length revived with increased force in connection with the popular belief in miracles. See also note † p. 23. *antè*.

1469—
1529.

Nānuk admits the mission of Mahomet as well as the Hindoo incarnations.

Disclaims miraculous powers.

Discourages asceticism.

to the Arabian prophet, and to the Hindoo incarnations, not as impostors and the diffusers of evil, but as having truly been sent by God to instruct mankind, and he lamented that sin should nevertheless prevail. He asserted no special divinity, although he may possibly have considered himself, as he came to be considered by others, the successor of these inspired teachers of his belief, sent to reclaim fallen mortals of all creeds and countries within the limits of his knowledge. He rendered his mission applicable to all times and places, yet he declared himself to be but the slave, the humble messenger of the Almighty, making use of universal truth as his sole instrument.* He did not claim for his writings, replete as they were with wisdom and devotion †, the merit of a direct transcription of the words of God; nor did he say that his own preaching required or would be sanctioned by miracles.‡ “Fight with no weapon,” said he, “save the word of God; a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine.”§ He taught that asceticism or abandonment of the world was unnecessary, the pious hermit and the devout householder being equal in the eyes of the Almighty;

* The whole scope of Nānuk's teaching is that God is all in all, and that purity of mind is the first of objects. He urges all men to practise devotion, and he refers to past prophets and dispensations as being now of no avail, but he nowhere attributes to himself any superiority over others. He was a man among men, calling upon his fellow creatures to live a holy life. (Compare the *Dabistān*, ii. 249, 250, 253.; and see Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 234., for the expression, “Nānuk thy slave is a free-will offering unto thee.”)

† The Mahometan writers are loud in their praises of Nānuk's writings. (Compare the *Seir ool Mutukhereen*, i. 110, 111., and the *Dabistān*, ii. 251, 252.)

With these sober views of the Orientals may be contrasted the opinion of the European Baron Hugel, who says (*Travels*, p. 283.), that the

Grunt'h is “a compound of mystical absurdities.” He admits, however, that the Sikhs worship one God, abhor images,* and reject caste, at least in theory.

‡ See particularly the *Sirree Rag* chapter of the *Adee Grunt'h*. In the *Majh Vâr* portion; Nānuk says to a pretender to miracles, “Dwell thou in flame uninjured, remain unharmed amid eternal ice, make blocks of stone thy food, spurn the solid earth before thee with thy foot, weigh the heavens in a balance, and then ask thou that Nānuk perform wonders!”

Strauss (*Life of Jesus*, ii. 237.) points out that Christ censured the seeking for miracles (*John*, iv. 48.), and observes that the apostles in their letters do not mention miracles at all.

§ Malcolm, *Sketch*, pp. 20, 21. 165.

but he did not, like his contemporary Vullubh, express any invidious preference for married teachers, although his own example showed that he considered every one should fulfil the functions of his nature.* In treating the two prominent external observances of Hindoos and Mahometans, veneration for the cow and abhorrence of the hog, he was equally wise and conciliatory, yielding perhaps something to the prejudices of his education as well as to the gentleness of his disposition. "The rights of strangers," said he, "are the one the ox, and the other the swine, but 'Peers' and 'Gooroos' will praise those who partake not of that which hath enjoyed life."†

1469—
1529.

Conciliatory between Mahometans and Hindoos.

Thus Nānuk extricated his followers from the accumulated errors of ages, and enjoined upon them devotion of thought and excellence of conduct as the first of duties. He left them, erect and free, unbiassed in mind and unfettered by rules, to become an increasing body of truthful worshippers. His reform was in its immediate effect religious and moral only; believers were regarded as "Sikhs" or disciples, not as subjects; and it is neither probable, nor is it necessary to suppose, that he possessed any clear and sagacious views of

Nānuk fully extricates his followers from error.

But his reformation necessarily religious and moral only.

* *Adee Grunt'h*, particularly the *Assa Raginee* and *Ramkullee Raginee*. (Compare the *Dabistān*, ii. 271.)

† *Adee Grunt'h*, *Majh* chapter. Compare Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 36. note, and p. 137.), where it is said Nānuk prohibited swine's flesh; but, indeed, the flesh of the tame hog had always been forbidden to Hindoos. (*Munnoo's Institutes*, v. 19.) The *Dabistān* (ii. 248.) states that Nānuk prohibited wine and pork, and himself abstained from all flesh: but, in truth, contradictory passages about food may be quoted, and thus Ward (*On the Hindoos*, iii. 466.) shows that Nānuk defended those who eat flesh, and declared that the infant which drew nurture from its mother lived virtually upon flesh. The author of the *Goor Rutnaalce* pursues the idea, in a somewhat trivial manner indeed,

by asking whether man does not take woman to wife, and whether the holiest of books are not bound with the skins of animals!

The general injunctions of Nānuk have sometimes been misinterpreted by sectarian followers and learned strangers, to mean "great chariness of animal life," almost in a mere ceremonial sense. (Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 233.) But the Sikhs have no such feeling, although the Jeins and others carry a pious regard for worms and flies to a ludicrous extent—a practice which has reacted upon at least some families of Roman Catholic Christians in India. Those in Bhopāl reject, during Lent, the use of unrefined sugar, an article of daily consumption, because, in its manufacture, the lives of many insects are necessarily sacrificed!

1469—
1529.

Nānuk left his Sikhs or disciples without new social laws as a separate people.

But guarded against their narrowing into a sect.

Nānuk declares Unggud to be his successor as a teacher of men.

social amelioration or of political advancement. He left the progress of his people to the operation of time ; for his congregation was too limited and the state of society too artificial, to render it either requisite or possible for him to become a municipal law-giver, to subvert the legislation of Munnoo, or to change the immemorial usages of tribes or races.* His care was rather to prevent his followers contracting into a sect, and his comprehensive principles narrowing into monastic distinctions. This he effected by excluding his son, a meditative and perhaps bigoted ascetic, from the ministry when he should himself be no more ; and, as his end approached, he is stated to have made a trial of the obedience or merits of his chosen disciples, and to have preferred the simple and sincere Lehna. As they journeyed along, the body of a man was seen lying by the way side. Nānuk said, "Ye who trust in me, eat of this food." All hesitated save Lehna ; he knelt and uncovered the dead, and touched without tasting the flesh of man ; but, behold ! the corpse had disappeared and Nānuk was in its place. The Gooroo embraced his faithful follower, saying he was as himself, and that his spirit would dwell within him.† The

* Malcolm (*Sketch*, pp. 44. 147.) says, Nānuk made little or no alteration in the civil institutions of the Hindoos, and Ward (*Hindoos*, iii. 463.) says, the Sikhs have no written civil or criminal laws. Similar observations of dispraise or applause might be made with regard to the code of the early Christians, and we know the difficulties under which the apostles labored, owing to the want of a new declaratory law, or owing to the scruples and prejudices of their disciples. (Acts, xv. 20. 28, 29. and other passages.) The seventh of the articles of the Church of England, and the nineteenth chapter of the Scottish Confession of Faith, show the existing perplexity of modern divines, and, doubtless, it will long continue to be disputed

how far Christians are amenable to some portions of the Jewish law, and whether Sikhs should wholly reject the institutions of Munnoo and the usages of race. There were Judaizing Christians and there are Brahminizing Sikhs ; the swine was a difficulty with one, the cow is a difficulty with the other ; and yet the greatest obstacle, perhaps, to a complete obliteration of caste, is the rooted feeling that marriages should properly take place only between people of the same origin or nation, without much reference to faith. (Compare Ward on the *Hindoos*, iii. 459. ; Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 157. note ; and Forster's *Travels*, i. 293. 295. 308).

† This story is related by various Punjabee compilers, and it is given

name of Lehna was changed to Ung-i-Khood, or Unggud, or own body *, and whatever may be the foundation of the story or the truth of the etymology, it is certain that the Sikhs fully believe the spirit of Nānuk to have been incarnate in each succeeding Gooroo. † Unggud was acknowledged as the teacher of the Sikhs, and Sree Chund, the son of Nānuk, justified his father's fears, and became the founder of the Hindoo sect of "Oodassees," a community indifferent to the concerns of this world. ‡

1469—
1529.

with one of the variations by Dr. Macgregor, in his *History of the Sikhs* (i. 48.). In the *Dabistān* (ii. 268, 269.) there is a story of a similar kind about the successive sacrifice in the four ages of a cow, a horse, an elephant, and a man. The pious partakers of the flesh of the last offering were declared to be saved, and the victim himself again appeared in his bodily shape.

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 24, note.

† This belief is an article of faith with the Sikhs. Compare the *Dabistān* (ii. 253, 281.). The Gooroo Hur Govind signed himself "Nānuk" in a letter to Mohsun Fānee, the author of that work.

‡ For some account of the Oodassees, see Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 232: The sect is widely diffused; its members are proud of their connection with the Sikhs, and all reverence, and most possess and use, the Grunt'h of Nānuk.

Note.—For many stories regarding Nānuk himself, which it has not been thought necessary to introduce into the text or notes, the curious reader may refer with profit to *Malcolm's Sketch*, to the second volume of the *Dabistān*, and to the first volume of Dr. Macgregor's recently published *History*.

CHAPTER III.

THE SIKH GOOROOS OR TEACHERS, AND THE MODIFICATION OF SIKHISM UNDER GOVIND.

1529—1716.

Gooroo Unggud. — Gooroo Ummer Das and the Oodassee Sect. — Gooroo Ram Das. — Gooroo Arjoon. — The First Grunt'h and Civil Organization of the Sikhs. — Gooroo Hur Govind and the military ordering of the Sikhs. — Gooroo Hur Raze. — Gooroo Hurkishen. — Gooroo Tegh Buhadur. — Gooroo Govind, and the Political Establishment of the Sikhs. — Bunda Byraghee the temporal successor of Govind. — The Dispersion of the Sikhs.

1529—
1552.

Unggud upholds the broad principles of Nānuk.

Dies 1552.

NĀNUK died in 1539, and he was succeeded by the Unggud of his choice, a Kshutree of the Teehun subdivision of the race, who himself died in 1552, at Kud-door, near Goindwal, on the Beas river. Little is related of his ministry, except that he committed to writing much of what he had heard about Nānuk from the Gooroo's ancient companion Bala Sindhoo, as well as some devotional observations of his own, which were afterwards incorporated in the "Grunt'h." But Unggud was true to the principles of his great teacher, and, not deeming either of his own sons worthy to succeed him, he bestowed his apostolic blessing upon Ummer Das, an assiduous follower.*

* Unggud was born, according to most accounts, in 1561 Sumbut, or 1504 A.D., but according to others in 1567 (or 1510 A.D.). His death is usually placed in 1609 Sumbut (1552 A.D.), but sometimes it is

dated a year earlier, and the Sikh accounts affect a precision as to days and months which can never gain credence. Forster (*Travels*, i. 296.) gives 1542, perhaps a misprint for 1552, as the period of his death.

Ummer Das was likewise a Kshutree, but of the Bhulleh subdivision. He was active in preaching and successful in obtaining converts, and it is said that he found an attentive listener in the tolerant Akber. The immediate followers of Sree Chund, the son of Nānuk, had hitherto been regarded as almost equally the disciples of the first teacher with the direct adherents of Unggud ; but Ummer Das declared passive and recluse "Oodassees" to be wholly separate from active and domestic "Sikhs," and thus finally preserved the infant church or state from disappearing as one of many sects.* In the spirit of Nānuk he likewise pronounced that the "true Suttee was she whom grief and not flame consumed, and that the afflicted should seek consolation with the Lord ;" thus mildly discountenancing a perverse custom, and leading the way to amendment by persuasion rather than by positive enactment.† Ummer Das died in 1574, after a ministration of about twenty-two years and a half.‡ He had a son and a daughter, and it is said that his delight with the uniform filial love and obedience of the latter, led him to prefer her husband before other disciples, and to bestow upon him his "Burkut" or apostolic virtue. The fond mother, or ambitious woman, is further stated to have obtained an assurance from the Gooroo that the succession should remain with her posterity.

Ram Das, the son-in-law of Ummer Das, was a Kshutree of the Sōdhee subdivision, and he was worthy

1552—
1574.

Ummer Das
succeeds.

Separates
the Sikhs
from the
Oodassees.

His views
with regard
to "Suttee."

Dies 1574.

Ram Das
succeeds
and esta-

* Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 27.) says distinctly that Ummer Das made this separation. The *Dabistān* (ii. 271.) states generally that the Gooroos had effected it, and in the present day some educated Sikhs think that Arjoon first authoritatively laid down the difference between an Oodassee and a genuine follower of Nānuk.

† The *Adee Grunt'h*, in that part of the *Soohee* chapter which is by Ummer Das. Forster (*Travels*, i. 309.) considers that Nānuk prohibited Suttee, and allowed widows to marry ;

but Nānuk did not make positive laws of the kind, and perhaps self-sacrifice was not authoritatively interfered with, until first Akber and Jehangheer (*Memoirs of Jehangheer*, p. 28.), and afterwards the English, endeavored to put an end to it.

‡ The accounts agree as to the date of Ummer Das's birth, placing it in 1566 Sumbut, or 1509 A. D. The period of his death, 1631 Sumbut, or 1574 A. D., seems likewise certain, although one places it as late as 1580 A. D.

1574
1581.

blishes him-
self at
Amritsir.

Dies 1581.

Arjoon suc-
ceeds and
fairly grasps
the idea of
Nānuk.

Makes
Amritsir
the "Holy

of his master's choice and of his wife's affection. He is said to have been held in esteem by Akber, and to have received from him a piece of land, within the limits of which he dug a reservoir, since well known as Amritsir, or the pool of immortality; but the temples and surrounding huts were at first named Ramdaspoor, from the founder.* Ram Das is among the most revered of the Gooroos, but no precepts of wide application, or rules of great practical value or force, are attributed to him. His own ministry did not extend beyond seven years, and the slow progress of the faith of Nānuk seems apparent from the statement that at the end of forty-two years his successor had not more than double that number of disciples or instructed followers.†

Arjoon succeeded his father in 1581, and the wishes of his mother, the daughter of Ummer Das, were thus accomplished.‡ Arjoon was perhaps the first who clearly understood the wide import of the teachings of Nānuk, or who perceived how applicable they were to every state of life and to every condition of society. He made Amritsir the proper seat of his followers, the centre which should attract their worldly longings for a

* Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 29.; Foster, *Travels*, i. 297.; the *Dabistān*, ii. 275. The Sikh accounts state that the possession of Akber's gift was disputed by a Byraghee, who claimed the land as the site of an ancient pool dedicated to Ramchunder, the tutelary deity of his order; but the Sikh Gooroo said haughtily he was himself the truer representative of the hero. The Byraghee could produce no proof; but Ram Das dug deep into the earth, and displayed to numerous admirers the ancient steps of the demi-god's reservoir!

† Such seems to be the meaning of the expression, "He held holy converse with eighty-four Sikhs," used by Bhaee Kanh Singh in a manuscript compilation of the beginning of this century.

Ram Das's birth is placed in 1581

Sumbut, or 1524 A. D., his marriage in 1542 A. D.; the founding of Amritsir in 1577 A. D., and his death in 1581 A. D.

‡ It seems doubtful whether Ram Das had two or three sons, Pirt'hee Chund (or Bhurrut Mull or Dheermull), Arjoon, and Muhadeo, and also whether Arjoon was older or younger than Pirt'hee Chund. It is more certain, however, that Pirt'hee Chund claimed the succession on the death of his father, if not on the death of his father, and he was also indeed accused of endeavoring to poison Arjoon. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. and the *Dabistān*, ii. 273.) The descendants of Pirt'hee Chund are still to be found in the neighborhood of the Sutlej, especially at Kot Hur Suhæe, south of Feerozpoor.

material bond of union ; and the obscure hamlet, with its little pool, has become a populous city and the great place of pilgrimage of the Sikh people.* Arjoon next arranged the various writings of his predecessors † ; he added to them the best known, or the most suitable, compositions of some other religious reformers of the few preceding centuries, and completing the whole with a prayer and some exhortations of his own, he declared the compilation to be preeminently the “ Grunt’h,” or Book ; and he gave to his followers their fixed rule of religious and moral conduct, with an assurance that multitudes even of divine Brahmins had wearied themselves with reading the Veds, and had found not the value of an oil-seed within them. ‡ The Gooroo next reduced to a systematic tax the customary offerings of his converts or adherents, who, under his ascendancy, were to be found in every city and province. The Sikhs were bound by social usage, and disposed from reverential feelings, to make such presents to their spiritual guide ; but the agents of Arjoon were spread over the country to demand and receive the contributions of the faithful, which they proceeded to deliver to the Gooroo in person at an annual assembly. Thus the Sikhs, says the almost contemporary Mohsun Fânee, became accustomed to a regular government.§ Nor was Arjoon heedless of other means of acquiring wealth and influence ; he despatched his followers into foreign countries to be as keen in traffic as they were zealous in

1581—
1606.

City” of the
Sikhs.

Compiles
the Adee
Grunt’h.

Reduces
customary
offerings to
a systematic
tax or tithe;

and en-
gages in
traffic.

* The ordinary Sikh accounts represent Arjoon to have taken up his residence at Amritsir ; but he lived for some time at least at Tur-run Tarun, which lies between that city and the junction of the Beas and Sutlej. (Compare the *Dabistân*, ii. 275.)^c

† Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. General tradition and most writers attribute the arrangement of the First Grunt’h to Arjoon ; but Ungud is understood to have preserved many observations of Nānuk, and Forster

(*Travels*, i. 297.) states that Ram Das compiled the histories and precepts of his predecessors, and annexed a commentary to the work. The same author, indeed (*Travels*, i. 296, note), also contradictorily assigns the compilation to Ungud.

‡ *Adee Grunt’h*, in that portion of the *Soohee* chapter written by Arjoon. For some account of the Adee, or First Grunt’h, see Appendix I.

§ The *Dabistân*, ii. 270. &c. Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30.

1581—
1606.



Arjoon pro-
vokes the
enmity of
Chundoo
Shah.

Becomes a
partizan of
Prince
Khoosroo in
rebellion.

Imprison-
ment and
death of
Arjoon,
1606.

belief, and it is probable that his transactions as a merchant were extensive, although confined to the purchase of horses in Toorkistan.*

Arjoon became famous among pious devotees, and his biographers dwell on the number of saints and holy men who were edified by his instructions. Nor was he unheeded by those in high station, for he is said to have refused to betroth his son to the daughter of Chundoo Shah, the finance administrator of the Lahore province†; and he further appears to have been sought as a political partizan, and to have offered up prayers for Khoosroo, the son of Jehangheer, when in rebellion and in temporary possession of the Punjab. The Gooroo was summoned to the emperor's presence, and fined and imprisoned at the instigation chiefly, it is said, of Chundoo Shah, whose alliance he had rejected, and who represented him as a man of a dangerous ambition.‡ Arjoon died in 1606, and his death is believed to have been hastened by the rigors of his

* The ordinary Sikh accounts are to this effect. Compare the *Dabistân*, ii. 271.

† Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 298. The Sikh accounts represent that the son of Arjoon was mentioned to Chundoo as a suitable match for his daughter, and that Chundoo slightly objected, saying, Arjoon, although a man of name and wealth, was still a beggar, or one who received alms. This was reported to Arjoon; he resented the taunt, and would not be reconciled to the match, notwithstanding the personal endeavours of Chundoo to appease him and bring about the union.

Shah is a corrupted suffix to names, extensively adopted in India. It is a Persian word signifying a king, but applied to Mahometan. Fukeers as Muharaja is used by or towards Hindoo devotees. It is also used to denote a principal merchant, or as a corruption of Sahoo or Sahookâr, and it is further used as a name or title, as a corruption of Sah or

Suhaee. The Gônd converts to Mahometanism on the Nerbudda all add the word Shah to their names.

‡ *Dabistân*, ii. 272, 273. The Sikh accounts correspond sufficiently as to the fact of the Gooroo's arraignment, while they are silent about his treason. They declare the emperor to have been satisfied of his sanctity and innocence (generally), and attribute his continued imprisonment to Chundoo's malignity and disobedience of orders. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 32.) Mohsun Fânee also states that a Mahometan saint of Thunehsir was banished by Jehangheer for aiding Khoosroo with his prayers. (*Dabistân*, ii. 273.) The emperor himself simply states (*Memoirs*, p. 88.), that at Lahore he impaled seven hundred of the rebels, and on his way to that city he appears (*Memoirs*, p. 81.) to have bestowed a present on Shekh Nizâm of Thunehsir; but he may have subsequently become aware of his hostility.

confinement; but his followers piously assert that, having obtained leave to bathe in the river Ravee, he vanished in the shallow stream, to the fear and wonder of those guarding him.*

1581—
1606.

During the ministry of Arjoon the principles of Nānuk took a firm hold on the minds of his followers†, and a disciple named Goor Das, gives a lofty and imaginative view of the mission of that teacher. He regards him as the successor of Vyâsa and Mahomet, and as the destined restorer of purity and sanctity; the regenerator of a world afflicted with the increasing wickedness of men, and with the savage contentions of numerous sects. He declaims against the bigotry of the Mahometans and their ready resort to violence; he denounces the asceticism of the Hindoos, and he urges all men to abandon their evil ways, to live peacefully and virtuously, and to call upon the name of the one true God to whom Nānuk had borne witness. Arjoon is commonly said to have refused to give these writings of his stern but fervid disciple a place in the Grunt'h, perhaps as unsuited to the tenor of Nānuk's exhortations, which scarcely condemn or threaten others. The writings of Goor Das are, indeed, rather figurative descriptions of actual affairs, than simple hymns in praise of God; but they deserve attention as expounding Nānuk's object of a gradual fusion of Mahometans and Hindoos into common observers of a new and a better creed, and as an almost contemporary instance of the conversion of the noble but obscure idea of an individual into the active principle of a multitude, and of the gradual investiture of a simple fact with the gorgeous mythism of memory and imagination. The

Diffusion of
Sikhism.

The writings of
Goor Das
Bhulleh.

The conceptions of
Nānuk become the
moving impulses of a
people;

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 33.; the *Dabistân*, ii. 272-3.; and Forster, *Travels*, i. 298.

1553 A. D. seems the most probable date of Arjoon's birth, although one account places it as late as 1565 A. D. Similarly 1663 Sumbut, or 1015

Hijree, or 1606 A. D., seems the most certain date of his death.

† Mohsun Fānee observes (*Dabistân*, ii. 270.), that in the time of Arjoon Sikhs were to be found everywhere throughout the country.

1606—
1645.

and his
real history
a mythical
narrative.

Hur Govind
becomes
Gooroo
after a dis-
puted suc-
cession.

unpretending Nānuk, the deplorer of human frailty and the lover of his fellow men, becomes, in the mind of Goor Das and of the Sikh people, the first of heavenly powers and emanations, and the proclaimed instrument of God for the redemption of the world; and every hope and feeling of the Indian races is appealed to in proof or in illustration of the reality and the splendor of his mission.*

On the death of Arjoon, his brother Pirthee Chund made some attempts to be recognized as Gooroo, for the only son of the deceased teacher was young, and ecclesiastical usage has everywhere admitted a latitude of succession. But some suspicion of treachery towards Arjoon appears to have attached to him, and his nephew soon became the acknowledged leader of the Sikhs, although Pirthee Chund himself continued to retain a few followers, and thus sowed the first fertile seeds of dissent, or elements of dispute or of change, which ever increase with the growth of a sect or a system.† Hur Govind was not, perhaps, more than eleven years of age at his father's death, but he was moved by his followers to resent the enmity of Chundoo Shah, and he is represented either to have procured his condemnation by

* The work of Bhaee Goor Das Bhulleh, simply known as such, or as the Gnyan Rutnaolee (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. note) is much read by the Sikhs. It consists of forty chapters, and is written in different kinds of verse. Some extracts may be seen in Appendix XIX. and in Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 152. &c. Goor Das was the scribe of Arjoon, but his pride and haughtiness are said to have displeased his master, and his compositions were refused a place in the sacred book. Time and reflection—and the Sikhs add a miracle—made him sensible of his failings and inferiority, and Arjoon perceiving his contrition, said he would include his writings in the Grunt'h. But the final meekness of Goor Das was such, that he himself declared them to be unworthy of such association; where-

upon Arjoon enjoined that all Sikhs should nevertheless read them. He describes Arjoon (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. note) to have become Gooroo without any formal investiture or consecration by his father, which may further mark the commanding character of that teacher.

Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 32.) appears to confound Chundoo Shah (or Dhunnee Chund) with Goor Das.

† Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. and *Dabistān*, ii. 273. These sectaries were called *Meena*, a term commonly used in the Punjab, and which is expressive of contempt or opprobrium, as stated by Mohsun Fānee. The proneness to sectarianism among the first Christians was noticed and deprecated by Paul. (1 *Corinthians*, i. 10—13.)

the emperor, or to have slain him by open force without reference to authority.* Whatever may be the truth about the death of Chundoo and the first years of Hur Govind's ministry, it is certain that, in a short time, he became a military leader as well as a spiritual teacher. Nānuk had sanctioned or enjoined secular occupations, Arjoon carried the injunction into practice, and the impulse thus given speedily extended and became general. The temper and the circumstances of Hur Govind both prompted him to innovation ; he had his father's death to move his feelings, and in surpassing the example of his parent, even the jealous dogma of the Hindoo law, which allows the most lowly to arm in self-defence, may not have been without its influence on a mind acquainted with the precepts of Munnoo.† Arjoon trafficked as a merchant and played his part as a priest in affairs of policy ; but Hur Govind grasped a sword, and marched with his devoted followers among the troops of the empire, or boldly led them to oppose and overcome provincial governors or personal enemies. Nānuk had himself abstained from animal food, and the prudent Arjoon endeavoured to add to his saintly merit or influence by a similar moderation ; but the adventurous Hur Govind became a hunter and an eater of flesh, and his disciples imitated him in these robust practices.‡ The genial disposition of the martial apostle led him to rejoice in the companionship of a camp, in the dangers of war, and in the excitements of the chase, nor is it improbable that the policy of a temporal chief mingled with the feelings of an injured son and with the duties of a religious guide, so as to shape his acts to the ends of his ambition, although *that* may not have aimed at more than a partial independence under

1606—
1645.

Chundoo
Shah slain
or put to
death.

Hur Govind
arms the
Sikhs and
becomes a
military
leader.

The gra-
dual modi-
fication of
Sikhism ;

* Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 298.

† For this last supposition, see Malcolm, *Sketch*, pp. 44. 189. There is perhaps some straining after nicety of reason in the notion, as

Munnoo's injunction had long become obsolete in such matters, especially under the Mahometan supremacy.

‡ The *Dabistān*, ii. 248. and Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 36.

1606—
1645.

and complete separation of the Sikhs from Hindoo dissenters.

Hur Govind falls under the displeasure of Jehangheer;

is imprisoned,

and released.

the mild supremacy of the son of Akber. Hur Govind appears to have admitted criminals and fugitives among his followers, and where a principle of antagonism had already arisen, they may have served him zealously without greatly reforming the practice of their lives; and, indeed, they are stated to have believed that the faithful Sikh would pass unquestioned into heaven.* He had a stable of eight hundred horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty matchlock-men secured the safety of his person, had he ever feared or thought of assassination.† The impulse which he gave to the Sikhs was such as to separate them a long way from all Hindoo sects, and after the time of Hur Govind the “disciples” were in little danger of relapsing into the limited merit or utility of monks and mendicants.‡

Hur Govind became a follower of the Emperor Jehangheer, and to the end of his life his conduct partook as much of the military adventurer as of the enthusiastic zealot. He accompanied the imperial camp to Cashmeer, and he is at one time represented as in holy colloquy with the religious guide of the Moghul, and at another as involved in difficulties with the emperor about retaining for himself that money which he should have disbursed to his troops. He had, too, a multitude of followers, and his passion for the chase, and fancied independence as a teacher of men, may have led him to offend against the sylvan laws of the court. The emperor was displeased, the fine imposed on Arjoon had never been paid, and Hur Govind was placed as a prisoner on scanty food in the fort of Gwalior. But the faithful Sikhs continued to revere the mysterious virtues or the real merits of their leader. They flocked to Gwalior, and bowed themselves before the walls which restrained their persecuted Gooroo, till at last the prince, moved, perhaps, as much by superstition as by pity, released him from confinement.§

* The *Dabistân*, ii. 284. 286.

† The *Dabistân*, ii. 277.

‡ See Appendix IX.

§ Compare the *Dabistân*, ii. 273,

On the death of Jehangheer in 1628, Hur Govind continued in the employ of the Mahometan government, but he appears soon to have been led into a course of armed resistance to the imperial officers in the Punjab. A disciple brought some valuable horses from Toorkistan ; they were seized, as was said, for the emperor, and one was conferred as a gift on the Kazee or Judge of Lahore. The Gooroo recovered this one animal by pretending to purchase it ; the judge was deceived, and his anger was further roused by the abduction of, the Sikhs say his daughter, the Mahometans, his favourite concubine, who had become enamored of the Gooroo. Other things may have rendered Hur Govind obnoxious, and it was resolved to seize him and to disperse his followers. He was assailed by one Mookhlis Khan, but he defeated the imperial troops near Amritsir, fighting, it is idly said, with five thousand men against seven thousand. Afterwards a Sikh, a converted robber, stole two of the emperor's prime horses from Lahore, and the Gooroo was again attacked by the provincial levies, but the detachment was routed and its leaders slain. Hur Govind now deemed it prudent to retire for a time to the wastes of Bhutinda, south of the Sutlej, where it might be useless or dangerous to follow him ; but he watched his opportunity and speedily returned to the Punjab, only, however, to become engaged in fresh contentions. The mother of one Payenda Khan, who had subsequently risen to some local eminence, had been the nurse of Hur Govind, and the Gooroo had ever been liberal to his foster brother. Payenda Khan was moved to keep to himself

1606—
1645.

Jehangheer dies 1628, and Hur Govind engages in a petty warfare.

Hur Govind retires to the wastes of Hurree-ana.

Returns to the Punjab.

274. and Forster, *Travels*, i. 298, 299. But the journey to Cashmeer, and the controversy with Mahometan saints or Mooillas, are given on the authority of the native chronicles. Mohsun Fānee represents Hur Govind to have been imprisoned for twelve years, and Forster attributes his release to the intervention of a Mahometan leader, who had originally

induced him to submit to the emperor.

The Emperor Jehangheer, in his *Memoirs*, gives more than one instance of his credulity and superstitious reverence for reputed saints and magicians. See particularly his *Memoirs*, p. 129. &c., where his visit to a worker of wonders is narrated.

1606—
1645.

Slays in
fight one
Payenda
Khan, his
friend.

a valuable hawk, belonging to the Gooroo's eldest son, which had flown to his house by chance: he was taxed with the detention of the bird; he equivocated before the Gooroo, and became soon after his avowed enemy. The presence of Hur Govind seems ever to have raised a commotion, and Payenda Khan was fixed upon as a suitable leader to coerce him. He was attacked; but the warlike apostle slew the friend of his youth with his own hand, and proved again a victor. In this action a soldier rushed furiously upon the Gooroo; but he warded the blow and laid the man dead at his feet, exclaiming, "Not so, but thus, is the sword used;" an observation from which the author of the *Dabistân* draws the inference "that Hur Govind struck, not in anger, but deliberately and to give instruction; for the function of a Gooroo is to teach." *

Death of
Hur Govind,
1645 A. D.

Self-sacri-
fice of dis-
ciples on his
pyre.

Hur Govind appears to have had other difficulties and adventures of a similar kind, and occasionally to have been reduced to great straits; but the Sikhs always rallied round him, his religious reputation increased daily, and immediately before his death he was visited by a famous saint of the ancient Persian faith.† He died in peace in 1645, at Keeritpoor on the Sutlej, a place bestowed upon him by the hill chief of Kuhloor, and the veneration of his followers took the terrible form of self-sacrifice. A Rajpoot convert threw himself amid the flames of the funeral pyre, and walked several paces till he died at the feet of his master. A Jut disciple did the same, and others, wrought upon by these examples, were ready to follow, when Hur Raee, the succeeding Gooroo, interfered and forbade them.‡

* See the *Dabistân*, ii. 275.; but native accounts, Sikh and Mahometan, have been mainly followed in narrating the sequence of events. Compare, however, the *Dabistân*, ii. 284., for the seizure of horses belonging to a disciple of the Gooroo.

† The *Dabistân*, ii. 280.

‡ This is related on the authority of the *Dabistân*, ii. 280, 281. Hur

Govind's death is also given agreeably to the text of the *Dabistân* as having occurred on the 3d Mohurram, 1055 Hijree, or on the 19th Feb. 1645, A. D. Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 37., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 299., give 1644 A. D. as the exact or probable date, obviously from regarding 1701 Sumbut (which Malcolm also quotes) as identical throughout, instead of for

During the ministry of Hur Govind, the Sikhs increased greatly in numbers, and the fiscal policy of Arjoon, and the armed system of his son, had already formed them into a kind of separate state within the empire. The Gooroo was perhaps not unconscious of his latent influence, when he played with the credulity or rebuked the vanity of his Mahometan friend. "A Raja of the north," said he, "has sent an ambassador to ask about a place called Delhi, and the name and parentage of its king. I was astonished that he had not heard of the commander of the faithful, the lord of the ascendant, Jehangheer." * But during his busy life he never forgot his genuine character, and always styled himself "NânuK," in deference to the firm belief of the Sikhs, that the soul of their great teacher animated each of his successors.† So far as Hur Govind knew or thought of philosophy as a science, he fell into the prevailing views of the period: God, he said, is one, and the world is an illusion, an appearance without a reality; or, he would adopt the more Pantheistic notion, and regard the universe as composing the one Being. But such reflections did not occupy his mind or engage his heart, and the rebuke of a Brahmin that if the world was the same as God, he, the Gooroo, was one with the ass grazing hard by, provoked a laugh only from the tolerant Hur Govind.‡ That he thought

1606—
1645.

The body of Sikhs forms a separate establishment within the empire.

Some anecdotes of Hur Govind.

His philosophical views.

about the first nine months only, with 1644 A. D., an error which may similarly apply to several conversions of dates in this history. The manuscript accounts consulted place the Gooroo's death variously in 1637, 1638, and 1639 A. D.; but they lean to the middle term. All, however, must be too early, as Mohsun Fânee (*Dabistân*, ii. 281.) says he saw Hur Govind in 1643 A. D. Hur Govind's birth is placed by the native accounts in the early part of 1652 Sumbut, corresponding with the middle of 1595 A. D.

* See the *Dabistân*, ii. 276, 277. The friend being Mohsun Fânee him-

self. The story perhaps shows that the Sikh truly considered the Mahometan to be a gossiping, and somewhat credulous person. The dates would rather point to Shah Jehân as the emperor alluded to than Jehangheer, as given parenthetically in the translated text of the *Dabistân*. Jehangheer died in 1628 A. D., and Mohsun Fânee's acquaintance with Hur Govind appears not to have taken place till towards the last years of the Gooroo's life, or till after 1640 A. D.

† Compare the *Dabistân*, ii. 281.

‡ Compare the *Dabistân*, ii. 277, 279, 280.

1645—
1661.
}

conscience and understanding our only divine guides, may probably be inferred from his reply to one who declared the marriage of a brother with a sister to be forbidden by the Almighty. Had God prohibited it, said he, it would be impossible for man to accomplish it.* His contempt for idolatry, and his occasional wide departure from the mild and conciliatory ways of Nānuk, may be judged from the following anecdote :— One of his followers smote the nose off an image ; the several neighboring chiefs complained to the Gooroo, who summoned the Sikh to his presence ; the culprit denied the act, but said ironically, that if the god bore witness against him, he would die willingly. “ Oh, fool ! ” said the Rajas, “ how should the god speak ? ” “ It is plain,” answered the Sikh, “ who is the fool ; if the god cannot save his own head, how will he avail you ? ”†

Hur Raee
succeeds as
Gooroo,
1645.

Goordut, the eldest son of Hur Govind, had acquired a high reputation, but he died before his father, leaving two sons, one of whom succeeded to the apostleship.‡ Hur Raee, the new Gooroo, remained at Keeritpoor for a time, until the march of troops to reduce the Kuhloor Raja to obedience induced him to remove eastward into the district of Sirmoor.§ There he also remained in

* The *Dabistān*, ii. 280.

† The *Dabistān*, ii. 276.

‡ For some allusions to Goordut or Goorditta, see the *Dabistān*, ii. 281, 282. His memory is yet fondly preserved, and many anecdotes are current of his personal strength and dexterity. His tomb is at Keeritpoor on the Sutlej, and it has now become a place of pilgrimage. In connection with his death, a story is told, which at least serves to mark the aversion of the Sikh teachers to claim the obedience of the multitude by an assumption of miraculous powers. Goorditta had raised a slaughtered cow to life, on the prayer, some say, of a poor man the owner, and his father was displeased that he should so endeavor to glorify him-

self. Goorditta said that as a life was required by God, and as he had withheld one, he would yield his own ; whereupon he lay down and gave up his spirit. A similar story is told of Uttul Raee, the youngest son of Hur Govind, who had raised the child of a sorrowing widow to life. His father reproved him, saying, Gooroos should display their powers in purity of doctrine and holiness of living. The youth, or child as some say, replied as Goorditta had done, and died. His tomb is in Amritsir, and is likewise a place deemed sacred.

Goorditta's younger son was named Dheermull, and his descendants are still to be found at Kurtarpoor, in the Jalundhur Doab.

§ See the *Dabistān*, ii. 282. The

peace until he was induced, in 1658–59, to take part, of a nature not distinctly laid down, with Dara Shêkoh, in the struggle between him and his brothers for the empire of India. Dara failed, his adherents became rebels, and Hur Raee had to surrender his elder son as a hostage. The youth was treated with distinction and soon released, and the favor of the politic Aurungzeb is believed to have roused the jealousy of the father.* But the end of Hur Raee was at hand, and he died at Keeritpoor in the year 1661.† His ministry was mild, yet such as won for him general respect; and many of the “Bhaees,” or brethren, the descendants of the chosen companions of a Gooroo, trace their descent to one disciple or other distinguished by Hur Raee.‡ Some sects also of Sikhs, who affect more than ordinary precision, had their origin during the peaceful supremacy of this Gooroo.§

1645—
1661.

Becomes a
political
partizan.

Dies 1661
A.D.

Hur Raee left two sons, Ram Raee, about fifteen,

Hurkishen
succeeds,
1661.

place meant seems to be Tuksâl or Tungsâl, near the present British station of Kussowlee to the northward of Ambala.

The important work of Mohsun Fânee brings down the history of the Sikhs to this point only.

* The Gooroo's leaning towards Dara, is given on the authority of native accounts only, but it is highly probable in itself, considering Dara's personal character and religious principles.

† The authorities mostly agree as to the date of Hur Raee's death, but one account places it in 1662 A.D. The Gooroo's birth is differently placed in 1628 and 1629.

‡ Of these Bhaee Bhugtoo, the founder of the Kythul family, useful partizans of Lord Lake, but now reduced to comparative insignificance under the operation of the British system of escheat, was one of the best known. Dhurum Singh, the ancestor of the respectable Bhaees of Bagreecan, a place between the Sutlej and Jumna, was likewise a follower of Hur Raee.

Now-a-days the title of Bhaee is in practice frequently given to any Sikh of eminent sanctity, whether his ancestor were the companion of a Gooroo or not. The Behdees and Sodhees, however, confine themselves to the distinctive names of their tribes, or the Behdees call themselves Bâba or father, and the Sodhees sometimes arrogate to themselves the title of Gooroo, as the representatives of Govind and Ram Das.

§ Of these sects the Soot'hrees or the Soothra-Shahees, are the best known. Their founder was one Sootcha, a Brahmin, and they have a *st'hân* or *dehra*, or place under the walls of the citadel of Lahore. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 236.) The name, or designation, means simply the pure. Another follower of Hur Raee, was a Khutree trader, named Futtoo, who got the title, or adopted the name, of Bhaee P'heeroo, and who, according to the belief of some people, became the real founder of the Oodassees.

1664—
1675.

and Hurkishen, about six years of age ; but the elder was the offspring of a handmaiden, and not of a wife of equal degree, and Hur Raee is further said to have declared the younger his successor. The disputes between the partizans of the two brothers ran high, and the decision was at last referred to the emperor. Aurungzeb may have been willing to allow the Sikhs to choose their own Gooroo, as some accounts have it, but the more cherished tradition relates that, being struck with the child's instant recognition of the empress among a number of ladies similarly arrayed, he declared the right of Hurkishen to be indisputable, and he was accordingly recognised as head of the Sikhs : but before the infant apostle could leave Delhi, he was attacked with small-pox, and died, in 1664, at that place.*

Dies, 1664.

Tegh Buhâdur succeeds as ninth Gooroo, 1664.

Ram Raee disputes his claims.

When Hurkishen was about to expire, he is stated to have signified that his successor would be found in the village of Bukkāla, near Goindwal, on the Beas river. In this village there were many of Hur Govind's relatives, and his son Tegh Buhâdur, after many wanderings and a long sojourn at Patna, on the Ganges, had taken up his residence at the same place. Ram Raee continued to assert his claims, but he never formed a large party, and Tegh Buhâdur was generally acknowledged as the leader of the Sikhs. The son of Hur Govind was rejoiced, but he said he was unworthy to wear his father's sword, and in a short time his supremacy and his life were both endangered by the machinations of Ram Raee, and perhaps by his own suspicious proceedings.† He was summoned to Delhi

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 38., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 299. One native account places Hurkishen's death in 1666 A. D., but 1664 seems the preferable date. His birth took place in 1656 A. D.

† Compare, generally, Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 38., Forster, *Travels*, i. 299., and Browne's *India Tracts*, ii.

3, 4. Tegh Buhâdur's refusal to wear the sword of his father, is given, however, on the authority of manuscript native accounts, which likewise furnish a story, showing the particular act which led to his recognition as Gooroo. A follower of the sect, named Mukhun Sah (or Shah), who was passing through Bukkāla, wished

as a pretender to power and as a disturber of the peace, but he had found a listener in the chief of Jeypoor; the Rajpoot advocated his cause, saying such holy men rather went on pilgrimages than aspired to sovereignty, and he would take him with him on his approaching march to Bengal.* Tegh Buhâdur accompanied the Raja to the eastward. He again resided for a time at Patna, but afterwards joined the army, to bring success, says the chronicler, to the expedition against the chiefs of Assam. He meditated on the banks of the Burhampooter, and he is stated to have convinced the heart of the Raja of Kâmroop, and to have made him a believer in his mission.†

1664—
1675.

Tegh Buhâdur retires for a time to Bengal.

After a time Tegh Buhâdur returned to the Punjab, and bought a piece of ground, now known as Makhowâl, on the banks of the Sutlej, and close to Keeritpoor, the chosen residence of his father. But the hostility and the influence of Ram Raee still pursued him, and the ordinary Sikh accounts represent him, a pious and innocent instructor of men, as once more arraigned at Delhi in the character of a criminal; but the truth seems to be that Tegh Buhâdur followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and

Tegh Buhâdur returns to the Punjab.

to make an offering to the Gooroo of his faith, but he was perplexed by the number of claimants. His offering was to be 525 rupees in all, but the amount was known to him alone, and he silently resolved to give a rupee to each, and to hail him as Gooroo who should (from intuition) claim the remainder. Tegh Buhâdur demanded the balance, and soon.

* Forster and Malcolm, who follow native Indian accounts, both give Jae Singh as the name of the prince who countenanced Tegh Buhâdur, and who went to Bengal on an expedition; but one manuscript account refers to Beer Singh as the friendly chief. Tod (*Rajasthan*, ii. 355.) says, Ram Singh, the son of the first Jae Singh, went to Assam, but he is silent about his actions. It is not

unusual in India to talk of eminent men as living, although long since dead, as a Sikh will now say he is Runjeet Singh's soldier; and it is probable that Ram Singh was nominally forgotten, owing to the fame of his father, the "Mirza Raja," and even that the Sikh chroniclers of the early part of the last century confounded the first with the second of the name, their contemporary Suwæe Jae Singh, the noted astronomer and patron of the learned. Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 39.), who, perhaps, copies Forster (*Travels*, i. 299, 300.), says, Tegh Buhâdur was, at this time, imprisoned for two years.

† These last two clauses are almost wholly on the authority of a manuscript Goormookhee summary of Tegh Buhâdur's life.

1664—
1675.

Leads a life
of violence;
and is con-
strained to
appear at
Delhi.

that, choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansee and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Mahometan zealot, named Adum Hâfiz, and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindoos, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Mussulmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahometan saint was banished, but Aurungzeb determined that the Sikh should be put to death.*

When Tegh Buhâdur was on his way to Delhi, he sent for his youthful son, and girding upon him the sword of Hur Govind, he hailed him as the Gooroo of the Sikhs. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and he enjoined upon him the necessity and the merit of revenge. At Delhi, the story continues, he was summoned before the emperor, and half insultingly, half credulously, told to exhibit miracles in proof of the alleged divinity of his mission. Tegh Buhâdur answered that the duty of man was to pray to the Lord; yet he would do one thing, he would write a charm, and the sword should fall harmless on the neck around which it was hung. He placed it around his own neck and inclined his head to the executioner: a blow severed it, to the surprise of a court tinged with superstition, and upon the paper was found written, "Sir deea, Sirr né deea," — he had given his head but not his secret; his life was gone, but his inspiration or apostolic virtue still remained in the world. Such is the narrative of a rude

* The author of the *Seir ool Mutakhereen* (i. 112, 113.) mentions these predatory or insurrectionary proceedings of Tegh Buhâdur, and the ordinary manuscript compilations

admit that such charges were made, but deprecate a belief in them. For Makhowal the Gooroo is said to have paid 500 rupees to the Raja of Kulloor.

and wonder-loving people; yet it is more certain that Tegh Buhâdur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurungzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi.*

Tegh Buhâdur seems to have been of a character hard and moody, and to have wanted both the genial temper of his father and the lofty mind of his son. Yet his own example powerfully aided in making the disciples of NânuK a martial as well as a devotional people. His reverence for the sword of his father, and his repeated injunction that his disciples should obey the bearer of his arrows, show more of the kingly than of the priestly spirit; and, indeed, about this time the Sikh Gooroos came to talk of themselves, and to be regarded by their followers, as "Sutchâ Pâdshahs," or as "veritable kings," meaning, perhaps, that they governed by just influence and not by the force of arms, or that they guided men to salvation, while others controlled their worldly actions. But the expression could be adapted to any circumstances, and its mystic application seems to have preyed upon and perplexed the minds of the Moghul princes, while it illustrates the assertion of an intelligent Mahometan writer, that Tegh Buhâdur, being at the head of many thousand men, aspired to sovereign power.†

When Tegh Buhâdur was put to death, his only son was in his fifteenth year. The violent end and the

1664—
1675.

Tegh Buhâdur put to death 1675.

Tegh Buhâdur's character and influence.

The title "True king" applied to the Gooroos.

Govind succeeds to the apostleship, 1675.

* All the accounts agree that Tegh Buhâdur was ignominiously put to death. The end of the year 1675 A. D.—as Mugser is sometimes given as the month—seems the most certain date of his execution. His birth is differently placed in 1612 and 1621 A. D.

† Syed Gholam Hosein, the author of the *Seir ool Mutakhereen* (i. 112.), is the writer referred to.

Browne, in his *India Tracts* (ii. 2, 3.), and who uses a compilation, attributes Aurungzeb's resolution to put Tegh Buhâdur to death, to his

assumption of the character of a "true king," and to his use of the title of "Buhâdur," expressive of valour, birth, and dignity. The Gooroo, in the narrative referred to, disavows all claim to miraculous powers. For some remarks on the term "Sutchâ Padshah," see Appendix XIII.

Tegh Buhâdur's objections to wear his father's sword, and his injunction to reverence his arrows, that is, to heed what the bearer of them should say, are given on native authority.

1675—
1708.

But lives in
retirement
for several
years.

Govind's
character
becomes
developed.

last injunction of the martyr Gooroo, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the irreconcilable foe of the Mahometan name, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and aspiring people. But Govind was yet young, the government was suspicious of his followers, and among the Sikhs themselves there were parties inimical to the son of Tegh Buhâdur. His friends were therefore satisfied that the mutilated body of the departed Gooroo was recovered by the zeal and dexterity of some humble disciples*, and that the son himself performed the funeral rites so essential to the welfare of the living and the peace of the dead. Govind was placed in retirement amid the lower hills on either side of the Jumna, and for a series of years he occupied himself in hunting the tiger and wild boar, in acquiring a knowledge of the Persian language, and in storing his mind with those ancient legends which describe the mythic glories of his race.†

In this obscurity Govind remained perhaps twenty years‡; but his youthful promise gathered round him the disciples of Nânuk, he was acknowledged as the head of the Sikhs, the adherents of Ram Raee declined into a sect of dissenters, and the neighboring chiefs became impressed with a high sense of the Gooroo's

* Certain men of the unclean and despised caste of Sweepers were despatched to Delhi to bring away the dispersed limbs of Tegh Buhâdur, and it is said they partly owed their success to the exertions of that Mukhun Shah, who had been the first to hail the deceased as Gooroo.

† The accounts mostly agree as to this seclusion and occupation of Govind during his early manhood; but Forster (*Travels*, i. 301.), and also some Goormookhee accounts, state that he was taken to Patna in the first instance, and that he lived there for some time before he retired to the Sireenuggur hills.

‡ The period is nowhere definitely given by English or Indian writers; but from a comparison of dates and circumstances, it seems probable that Govind did not take upon himself a new and special character as a teacher of men until about his thirty-fifth year, or until the year 1695 of Christ. A Sikh author, indeed, quoted by Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 186. note), makes Govind's reforms date from 1696 A. D.; but contradictorily one or more of Govind's sayings or writings are made to date about the same period from the south of India, whither he proceeded only just before his death.

superiority and a vague dread of his ambition. But Govind ever dwelt upon the fate of his father, and the oppressive bigotry of Aurungzeb; study and reflection had enlarged his mind, experience of the world had matured his judgment, and, under the mixed impulse of avenging his own and his country's wrongs, he resolved upon awakening his followers to a new life, and upon giving precision and aim to the broad and general institutions of Nānuk. In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself to the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire.*

Govind was equally bold, systematic, and sanguine; but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purposes, he deplored the corruption of the world, he resented the tyranny which endangered his own life, and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primæval seers and heroes; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world, and his mind was not perhaps untinged with a superstitious belief in

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1708.

He resolves on modifying the system of Nānuk, and on combating the Mahometan faith and power.

Govind's views and motives;

* The ordinary accounts represent Govind, as they represent his grandfather, to have been mainly moved to wage war against Mahometans by a desire of avenging the death of his parent. It would be unreasonable to deny to Govind the merit of other motives likewise; but, doubtless, the fierce feeling in question strongly impelled him in the prosecution of his lofty and comprehensive design. The sentiment is indeed common to all times and places: it is as common in the present Indian as it was in the ancient European world; and even the "most Christian of poets" has used it without rebuke

to justify the anger of a shade in Hades, and his own sympathy as a mortal man yet dwelling in the world:—

"Oh guide beloved!
His violent death yet unavenged,
said I,
By any who are partners in his
shame
Made him contemptuous; therefore,
as I think,
He passed me speechless by, and
doing so
Hath made me more compassionate
his fate."—*Dante, Hell, xxix.*

Cary's Translation.

F

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1708.

and mode
of present-
ing his
mission.

The reli-
gions of the
world held
to be cor-
rupt, and
a new dis-
pensation
to have been
vouchsafed.

his own earthly destiny.* In an extant and authentic composition†, he traces his mortal descent to ancient kings, and he extols the piety of his immediate parents which rendered them acceptable to God. But his own unembodied soul, he says, reposed in bliss, wrapt in meditation, and it murmured that it should appear on earth even as the chosen messenger of the Lord — the inheritor of the spirit of Nânuk, transmitted to him as one lamp imparts its flame to another.‡ He describes how the “Deityas” had been vainly sent to reprove the wickedness of man, and how the succeeding “Deotas” procured worship for themselves as Siva and Brumha and Vishnoo. How the Siddhs had established divers sects, how Gorukhnath and Ramanund introduced other modes, and how Mahomet had required men to repeat his own name when beseeching the Almighty. Each perversely, continues Govind, established ways of his own and misled the world, but he himself had come to declare a perfect faith, to extend virtue, and to destroy evil. Thus, he said, had he been manifested, but *he* was only as other men, the servant of the supreme, a beholder of the wonders of creation,

* [The persuasion of being moved by something more than the mere human will and reason, does not necessarily imply delusion or insanity in the ordinary sense of the term, and the belief is everywhere traceable as one of the phenomena of “mind,” both in the creation of the poet and in the recorded experience of actual life. Thus the reader will remember the “unaccustomed spirit” of Romeo, and the “rebuked genius” of Macbeth, as well as the “star” of Napoleon; and he will call to mind the “martial transports” of either Ajax infused by Neptune, as well as the “dæmon” of Socrates and the “inspiration” of the holy men of Israel.]

† The Vichitr Natuk, or Wondrous Tale, which forms a portion of the Duswen Padshah ka Grunth, or Book of the Tenth King.

‡ The reader will contrast what

Virgil says of the shade of Rome’s “great emperor,” with the devoted quietism of the Indian reformer: —

“There mighty Cæsar waits his vital hour,

Impatient for the world, and grasps his promised power.”—*Æneid*, vi.

He will also call to mind the sentiment of Milton, which the more ardent Govind has greatly heightened,

“He asked, but all the heavenly quire stood mute,

And silence was in heaven: on man’s behalf,

Patron or intercessor none appeared.”

Until Christ himself said’—

“Account me man, I for his sake will leave

Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee

Freely put off.”—*Paradise Lost*, iii.

and whosoever worshipped *him* as the Lord should assuredly burn in everlasting flame. The practices of Mahometans and Hindoos he declared to be of no avail, the reading of Korâns and Poorâns was all in vain, and the votaries of idols and the worshippers of the dead could never attain to bliss. God, he said, was not to be found in texts or in modes, but in humility and sincerity.*

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Such is Govind's mode of presenting his mission; but his followers have extended the allegory, and have variously given an earthly close to his celestial vision. He is stated to have performed the most austere devotions at the fane of the goddess-mother of mankind on the summit of the hill named Neina, and to have asked how in the olden times the heroic Arjoon transpierced multitudes with an arrow. He was told that by prayer and sacrifice the power had been attained. He invited from Benares a Brahmin of great fame for piety and for power over the unseen world. He himself carefully consulted the Veds, and he called upon his numerous disciples to aid in the awful ceremony he was about to perform. Before all he makes successful trial of the virtue of the magician, and an ample altar is laboriously prepared for the *Hôm*, or burnt offering. He is told that the goddess will appear to him, an armed shade, and that, undaunted, he should hail her and ask for fortune. The Gooroo, terror-struck, could but advance his sword, as if in salutation to the dread appearance. The goddess touched it in token of acceptance, and a divine weapon, an axe of iron, was seen amid the flames. The sign was declared to be propitious, but fear had rendered the sacrifice incomplete, and Govind must die himself, or devote to death one dear to him, to ensure the triumph of his faith. The Gooroo smiled sadly; he said *he* had yet much to accomplish

The legend regarding Govind's reformation of the sect of Nānuk.

* Compare the extracts given by Malcolm from the Vichitr Natuk. (*Sketch*, p. 173. &c.)

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in this world, and that his father's spirit was still unappeased. He looked towards his children, but maternal affection withdrew them: twenty-five disciples then sprang forward and declared their readiness to perish; one was gladdened by being chosen, and the fates were satisfied.*

The principles inculcated by Govind.

The
"Khâlsa."

Old forms useless.
God is one.
All men are equal.
Idolatry to be condemned, and Mahometanism destroyed.

Govind is next represented to have again assembled his followers, and made known to them the great objects of his mission. A new faith had been declared, and henceforth the "Khâlsa," the saved or liberated†, should alone prevail. God must be worshipped in truthfulness and sincerity, but no material resemblance must degrade the Omnipotent; the Lord could only be beheld by the eye of faith in the general body of the Khâlsa.‡ All, he said, must become as one; the lowest were equal with the highest; caste must be forgotten; they must accept the "Pâhul" or initiation from him§, and the four races must eat as one out of one vessel. The Toorks must be destroyed, and the graves of those called saints neglected. The ways of the Hindoos must be abandoned, their temples viewed as holy and their

* This legend is given with several variations, and one may be seen in Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 53. note), and another in Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs* (i. 71.). Perhaps the true origin of the myth is to be found in Govind's reputed vision during sleep of the great goddess. (Malcolm, p. 187.) The occurrence is placed in the year 1696 A. D. (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 86.)

† Khâlsa or Khâlisa, is of Arabic derivation, and has such original or secondary meanings, as pure, special, free, &c. It is commonly used in India to denote the immediate territories of any chief or state as distinguished from the lands of tributaries and feudal followers. Khâlsa can thus be held either to denote the kingdom of Govind, or that the Sikhs are the chosen people.

‡ This assurance is given in the

Rehet Nameh, or Rule of Life of Govind, which, however, is not included in the Grunth. In the same composition he says, or is held to have said, that the believer who wishes to see the Gooroo, shall behold him in the Khâlsa.

Those who object to such similitudes, or to such struggles of the mind after precision, should remember that Abelard likened the Trinity to a syllogism with its three terms; and that Wallis, with admitted orthodoxy, compared the Godhead to a mathematical cube with its three dimensions. (*Bayle's Dictionary*, art. "Abelard.")

§ Pâhul (pronounced nearly as *Powl*), means literally a gate, a door, and thence initiation. The word may have the same origin as the Greek πύλη.

rivers looked upon as sacred; the Brahmin's thread must be broken; by means of the Khâlsa alone could salvation be attained. They must surrender themselves wholly to their faith and to him their guide. Their words must be "Kritnash, Koolnash, Dhurmnash, Kurmnash," the forsaking of occupation and family, of belief and ceremonies. "Do thus," said Govind, "and the world is yours."* Many Brahmin and Kshutree followers murmured, but the contemned races rejoiced; they reminded Govind of their devotion and services, and asked that *they* also should be allowed to bathe in the sacred pool, and offer up prayers in the temple of Amritsir. The murmurings of the twice-born increased, and many took their departure, but Govind exclaimed that the lowly should be raised, and that hereafter the despised should dwell next to himself.† Govind then poured water into a vessel and stirred it with the sacrificial axe, or with the sword rendered divine by the touch of the goddess. His wife passed by, as it were by chance, bearing confections of five kinds: he hailed the omen as propitious, for the coming of woman denoted an offspring to the Khâlsa numerous as the leaves

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* The text gives the substance and usually the very words of the numerous accounts to the same purport. (Compare also Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 148. 151.)

† Chooras, or men of the Sweeper caste, brought away the remains of Tegh Buhâdur from Delhi, as has been mentioned (*antè*, p. 64, note). Many of that despised, but not oppressed race, have adopted the Sikh faith in the Punjab, and they are commonly known as *Rungret'ha* Sikhs. *Runggur* is a term applied to the Rajpoots about Delhi who have become Mahometans; but in Malwa the predatory Hindoo Rajpoots are similarly styled, perhaps from *Runk* a poor man, in opposition to *Rana* one of high degree. Run-

gret'ha seems thus rather a diminutive of *Runggur*, than a derivative of *rung* (color) as commonly understood. The *Rungret'ha* Sikhs are sometimes styled *Muzhubee*, or of the (Mahometan) faith, from the circumstance that the converts from Islâm are so called, and that many Sweepers throughout India have become Mahometans.

In allusion to the design of inspiring the Hindoos with a new life, Govind is reported to have said that he "would teach the sparrow to strike the eagle." (See Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 74., where it is used with reference to Aurungzeb, but the saying is attributed to Govind under various circumstances by different authors.)

1675—
1708.

The Pâhul
or initiation
of the
sect of
Singhs.

The visible
distinctions
of Sikhs or
Singhs.

Lustration
by water.
Reverence
for NânuK.

of the forest. He mingled the sugars with the water, and then sprinkled a portion of it upon five faithful disciples, a Brahmin, a Kshutree, and three Soodras. He hailed them as "Singhs," and declared them to be the Khâlsa. He himself received from them the "Pâhul" of his faith and became Govind Singh, saying, that hereafter, whenever five Sikhs should be assembled together, there he also would be present.*

Govind thus abolished social distinctions†, and took away from his followers each ancient solace of superstition; but he felt that he must engage the heart as well as satisfy the reason, and that he must give the Sikhs some common bonds of union which should remind the weak of their new life, and add fervor to the devotion of the sincere. They should have one form of initiation, he said, the sprinkling of water by five of the faithful‡; they should worship the One Invisible God; they should honour the memory of NânuK and of his transanimate successors§; their watchword should be,

* The Brahmin noviciate is stated to have been an inhabitant of the Deccan, and the Kshutree of the Punjab; one Soodra, a Jeewur (Kuhâr), was of Juggernath, the second, a Jat, was of Hustinapoor, and the third, a Cheepa or cloth printer, was of Dwârka in Goojrat.

For the declaration about five Sikhs forming a congregation, or about the assembly of five men ensuring the presence or the grace of the Gooroo, compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 186.

Govind had originally the cognomen, or titular name, of "Ræe," one in common use among Hindoos, and largely adopted under the variation of "Rao" by the military Mah-rattas; but on declaring the comprehensive nature of his reform, the Gooroo adopted for himself and followers the distinctive appellation of "Singh," meaning literally a lion, and metaphorically a champion or warrior.

It is the most common of the distinctive names in use among Rajpoots, and it is now the invariable termination of every proper name among the disciples of Govind. It is sometimes used alone, as Khân is used among the Mahometans, to denote preeminence. Thus Sikh chiefs would talk of Runjeet Singh, as ordinary Sikhs will talk of their own immediate leaders, as the "Singh Sahib," almost equivalent to "Sir King," or "Sir Knight," in English. Strangers likewise often address any Sikh respectfully as "Singhjee."

† See Appendix X.

‡ See Appendix XI.

§ The use of the word "transanimate" may perhaps be allowed. The Sikh belief in the descent of the individual spirit of NânuK upon each of his successors, is compared by Govind in the Vichitr Natuk to the imparting of flame from one lamp to another.

Hail Gooroo! * but they should revere and bow to nought visible save the "Grunt'h," the book of their belief.† They should bathe, from time to time, in the pool of Amritsir; their locks should remain unshorn; they should all name themselves "Singhs," or soldiers, and of material things they should devote their finite energies to steel alone.‡ Arms should dignify their person; they should be ever waging war, and great would be his merit who fought in the van, who slew an enemy, and who despaired not although overcome. He cut off the three sects of dissenters from all intercourse: the Dheermullees, who had labored to destroy Arjoon; the Ram Raees, who had compassed the death of his father; and the Mussundees, who had resisted his own authority. He denounced the "shaven," meaning, perhaps, all Mahometans and Hindoos; and for no reason which bears clearly on the worldly scope of his mission, he held up to reprobation those slaves of a perverse custom, who impiously take the lives of their infant daughters.§

Govind had achieved one victory, he had made himself master of the imagination of his followers; but a more laborious task remained, the destruction of the empire of unbelieving oppressors. He had established the Khâlsa, the theocracy of Singhs, in the midst of Hindoo delusion and Mahometan error; he had confounded Peers and Moollas, Sâdhs and Pundits, but he had yet to vanquish the armies of a great emperor, and to subdue the multitudes whose faith he impugned. The design of Govind may seem wild and senseless to those accustomed to consider the firm sway and regular policy of ancient Rome, and who daily witness the

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1708.

The exclamation,
Hail-Gooroo!
Unshorn locks; the title of Singh; and devotion to arms.

* See Appendix XII.

† Obeisance to the Grunt'h alone is inculcated in the Rehet Nameh, or Rule of Life of Govind, and he endeavored to guard against being himself made an object of future

idolatry, by denouncing (in the Vichitr Natuk) all who should regard him as a god.

‡ See Appendix XIII.

§ See Appendix XIV.

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1708.

The character and condition of the Moghul empire when Govind resolved to assail it.

Akber.

Aurangzeb.

power and resources of the well-ordered governments of modern Europe. But the extensive empires of the East, as of semi-barbarism in the West, have never been based on the sober convictions of a numerous people; they have been mere dynasties of single tribes, rendered triumphant by the rapid development of warlike energy, and by the comprehensive genius of eminent leaders. Race has succeeded race in dominion, and what Cyrus did with his Persians and Charlemagne with his Franks, Baber began and Akber completed with a few Tartars their personal followers. The Moghuls had even a less firm hold of empire than the Achæmenides or the Carolingians; the devoted clansmen of Baber were not numerous, his son was driven from his throne, and Akber became the master of India as much by political sagacity, and the generous sympathy of his nature, as by military enterprize and the courage of his partizans. He perceived the want of the times, and his commanding genius enabled him to reconcile the conflicting interests and prejudices of Mahometans and Hindoos, of Rajpoots, Toorks, and Puthâns. At the end of fifty years he left his heir a broad and well regulated dominion; yet one son of Jehangheer contested the empire with his father, and Shah Jehau first saw his children waging war with one another for the possession of the crown which he himself still wore, and at length became the prisoner of the ablest and most successful of the combatants. Aurungzeb ever feared the influence of his own example: his temper was cold; his policy towards Mahometans was one of suspicion, while his bigotry and persecutions rendered him hateful to his Hindoo subjects. In his old age his wearied spirit could find no solace; no tribe of brave and confiding men gathered round him: yet his vigorous intellect kept *him* an emperor to the last, and the hollowness of his sway was not apparent to the careless observer until he was laid in his grave. The empire of the Moghuls wanted political fusion, and its fair degree of adminis-

trative order and subordination was vitiated by the doubt which hung about the succession.* It comprised a number of petty states which rendered an unwilling obedience to the sovereign power; it was also studded over with feudal retainers, and all these hereditary princes and mercenary "Jagheerdârs" were ever ready to resist, or to pervert, the measures of the central government. They considered then, as they do now, that a monarch exercised sway for his own interests only, without reference to the general welfare of the country; no public opinion of an intelligent people systematically governed controlled them, and applause always awaited the successful aspirant to power. Akber did something to remove this antagonism between the rulers and the ruled, but his successors were less wise than himself, and religious discontent was soon added to the love of political independence. The southern portions of India, too, were at this time recent conquests, and Aurungzeb had been long absent, hopelessly endeavoring to consolidate his sway in that distant quarter. The Himalayas had scarcely been penetrated by the Moghuls, except in the direction of Cashmeer, and rebellion might rear its head almost unheeded amid their wild recesses. Lastly, during this period, Sevajee had roused the slumbering spirit of the Mahratta tribes. He had converted rude herdsmen into successful soldiers, and had become a territorial chief in the very neighborhood of the emperor. Govind added religious fervor to warlike temper, and his design of founding a kingdom of Juts upon the waning glories of Aurungzeb's dominion, does not appear to have been idly conceived or rashly undertaken.

1675—
1708.

Sevajee the
Mahratta.

Gooroo
Govind.

* Notwithstanding this defect, the English themselves have yet to do much before they can establish a system which shall last so long and work so well as Akber's organization of Pergunneh Chowdhrees and Qanoongoes, who may be likened to heredi-

tary county sheriffs, and registers of landed property and holdings. The objectionable hereditary law was modified in practice by the adoption of the most able or the most upright as the representative of the family.

1675—
1708.

Govind's
plans of
active oppo-
sition
(about)
1695.

His military
posts ;

and leagues
with the
chiefs of the
Lower
Himalayas.

His influ-
ence as a
religious
teacher.

Govind
quarrels
with the

Yet it is not easy to place the actions of Govind in due order, or to understand the particular object of each of his proceedings. He is stated by a credible Mahometan author to have organized his followers into troops and bands, and to have placed them under the command of trustworthy disciples.* He appears to have entertained a body of Puthâns, who are every where the soldiers of fortune †, and it is certain that he established two or three forts along the skirts of the hills between the Sutlej and Jumna. He had a post at Pownta in the Keeârda vale near Nâhun, a place long afterwards the scene of a severe struggle between the Goorkhas and the English. He had likewise a retreat at Anundpoor-Mâkhowâl, which had been established by his father ‡, and a third at Chumkowr, fairly in the plains and lower down the Sutlej than the chosen haunt of Tegh Buhâdur. He had thus got strongholds which secured him against any attempts of his hill neighbors, and he would next seem to have endeavored to mix himself up with the affairs of these half independent chiefs, and to obtain a commanding influence over them, so as by degrees to establish a virtual principality amid mountain fastnesses to serve as the basis of his operations against the Moghul government. As a religious teacher he drew contributions and procured followers from all parts of India, but as a leader he perceived the necessity of a military pivot, and as a rebel he was not insensible to the value of a secure retreat.

Govind has himself described the several actions in which he was engaged, either as a principal or as an

* Seir ool Mutakhereen, i. 113.

† The Mahratta histories show that Sevajee likewise hired bands of Puthâns, who had lost service in the declining kingdom of Bejapoor. (Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, i. 165.)

‡ Anundpoor is situated close to Mâkhowâl. The first name was given by Govind to his own parti-

cular residence at Mâkhowâl, as distinguished from the abode of his father, and it signified the place of happiness. A knoll, with a seat upon it, is here pointed out, whence it is said Govind was wont to discharge an arrow a coss and a quarter—about a mile and two-thirds English, the Punjabee coss being small.

ally.* His pictures are animated; they are of some value as historical records, and their sequence seems more probable than that of any other narrative. His first contest was with his old friend the chief of Nahun, aided by the Raja of Hindoor, to whom he had given offence, and by the mercenary Puthâns in his own service, who claimed arrears of pay, and who may have hoped to satisfy all demands by the destruction of Govind and the plunder of his establishments. But the Gooroo was victorious, some of the Puthân leaders fell, and Govind slew the young warrior, Hurree Chund of Nalagurh, with his own hand. The Gooroo nevertheless deemed it prudent to move to the Sutlej; he strengthened Anundpoor, and became the ally of Bheem Chund of Kuhloor, who was in resistance to the imperial authorities of Kot Kanggra. The Mahometan commander was joined by various hill chiefs, but in the end he was routed, and Bheem Chund's rebellion seemed justified by success. A period of rest ensued, during which, says Govind, he punished such of his followers as were lukewarm or disorderly. But the aid which he rendered to the chief of Kuhloor was not forgotten, and a body of Mahometan troops made an unsuccessful attack upon his position. Again an imperial commander took the field, partly to coerce Govind, and partly to reduce the hill rajas, who, profiting by the example of Bheem Chund, had refused to pay their usual tribute. A desultory warfare ensued; some attempts at accommodation were made by the hill chiefs, but these were broken off, and the expedition ended in the rout of the Mahometans.

The success of Govind, for all was attributed to him, caused the Mahometans some anxiety, and his designs

1675—
1708.

Rajas of
Nahun and
Nalagurh.

Aids the
Raja of
Kuhloor
and other
chiefs
against the
imperial
forces.

Govind's
proceedings
excite the

* Namely, in the Vichitr Natuk, already quoted as a portion of the Second Grunt'h. The "Gooroo Bilas," by Sookha Singh, corroborates Govind's account, and adds many details. Malcolm (*Sketch*, p.

58. &c.), may be referred to for translations of some portions of the Vichitr Natuk bearing on the period, but Malcolm's own general narrative of the events is obviously contradictory and inaccurate.

1675—
1708.

suspensions
of the hill
chiefs, and
cause the
emperor
some
anxiety
(about)
1701.

Govind re-
duced to
straits at
Anundpoor.

His children
escape; but
are subse-
quently put
to death.

He himself
flies to
Chumkowr.

Govind
escapes

appear likewise to have alarmed the hill chiefs, for they loudly claimed the imperial aid against one who announced himself as the True King. Aurungzeb directed the governors of Lahore and Sirhind to march against the Gooroo, and it was rumored that the emperor's son, Buhâdur Shah, would himself take the field in their support.* Govind was surrounded at Anundpoor by the forces of the empire. His own resolution was equal to any emergency, but numbers of his followers deserted him. He cursed them in this world and in the world to come, and others who wavered, he caused to renounce their faith, and then dismissed them with ignominy. But his difficulties increased, desertions continued to take place, and at last he found himself at the head of no more than forty devoted followers. His mother, his wives, and his two youngest children effected their escape to Sirhind, but the boys were there betrayed to the Mahometans and put to death.† The faithful forty said they were ready to die with their priest and king, and they prayed him to recall his curse upon their weaker hearted brethren, and to restore to them the hope of salvation. Govind said that his wrath would not endure. But he still clung to temporal success; the fort of Chumkowr remained in his possession, and he fled during the night and reached the place in safety.

At Chumkowr Govind was again besieged.‡ He

* Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 60, note) says, that this allusion would place the warfare in 1701 A.D., as Buhâdur Shah was at that time sent from the Deccan towards Caubul. Some Sikh traditions, indeed, represent Govind as having gained the good will of, or as they put it, as having shown favour to, Buhâdur Shah; and Govind himself, in the Vichitr Natuk, says that a son of the emperor came to suppress the disturbances, but no name is given. Neither does Mr. Elphinstone (*History*, ii. 545.) specify Buhâdur Shah; and,

indeed, he merely seems to conjecture that a prince of the blood, who was sent to put down disturbances near Mooltan, was really employed against the Sikhs near Sirhind.

† The most detailed account of this murder of Govind's children, is given in Browne's *India Tracts*, ii. 6, 7.

‡ At Chumkowr, in one of the towers of the small brick fort, is still shown the tomb of a distinguished warrior, a Sikh of the Sweeper caste, named Jeewun Singh, who fell during the siege. The bastion itself is

was called upon to surrender his person and to renounce his faith, but Ajeet Singh, his son, indignantly silenced the bearer of the message. The troops pressed upon the Sikhs; the Gooroo was himself every where present, but his two surviving sons fell before his eyes, and his little band was nearly destroyed. He at last resolved upon escape, and taking advantage of a dark night, he threaded his way to the outskirts of the camp, but there he was recognized and stopped by two Puthâns. These men, it is said, had in former times received kindness at the hands of the Gooroo, and they now assisted him in reaching the town of Behlolpoor, where he trusted his person to a third follower of Islâm, one Peer Mahomed, with whom it is further said the Gooroo had once studied the Korân. Here he ate food from Mahometans, and declared that such might be done by Sikhs under pressing circumstances. He further disguised himself in the blue dress of a Mussulman Der-vish, and speedily reached the wastes of Bhutinda. His disciples again rallied round him, and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called "Mookutsur," or the Pool of Salvation. He continued his flight to Dumdumma, or the Breathing Place, half way between Hansee and Feerozpoor; the imperial authorities thought his strength sufficiently broken, and they did not follow him further into a parched and barren country.

At Dumdumma Govind remained for some time, and he occupied himself in composing the supplemental Grunt'h, the Book of the Tenth King, to rouse the energies and sustain the hopes of the faithful. This comprises the Vichitr Natuk, or "Wondrous Tale," the only historical portion of either Grunt'h, and which he concludes by a hymn in praise of God, who had ever

1675—
1708.
from Chum-
kowl,
1705—6.

Success-
fully resists
his pursuers
at Mookut-
sur;

and rests
at Dum-
dumma,
near
Bhutinda.

Govind
composes
the Vichitr
Natuk.

known as that of the Martyr. A Govind's defeat and flight are
temple now stands where Ajeet Singh placed by the Sikhs in 1705, 1706,
and Joojarh Singh, the eldest sons of A. D.
Govind, are reputed to have fallen.

1675—
1708.

Summoned
by Aurung-
zeb to his
presence.

Replies to
the emperor
in a denun-
ciatory
strain.

Aurungzeb
dies, and
Buhâdur
Shah suc-
ceeds, 1707
A. D.

assisted him. He would, he says, make known in another book the things which he had himself accomplished, the glories of the Lord which he had witnessed, and his recollections or visions of his antecedent existence. All he had done, he said, had been done with the aid of the Almighty; and to "Loh," or the mysterious virtue of iron, he attributed his preservation.

While thus living in retirement, messengers arrived to summon him to the emperor's presence; but Govind replied to Aurungzeb in a series of parables admonitory of kings, partly in which, and partly in a letter which accompanied them, he remonstrates rather than humbles himself. He denounces the wrath of God upon the monarch, rather than deprecates the imperial anger against himself; he tells the emperor that he puts no trust in him, and that the "Khâlsa" will yet avenge him. He refers to Nānuk's religious reform, and he briefly alludes to the death of Arjoon and of Tegh Buhâdur. He describes his own wrongs and his childless condition. He was, as one without earthly link, patiently awaiting death, and fearing none but the sole Emperor, the King of Kings. Nor, said he, are the prayers of the poor ineffectual; and on the day of reckoning it would be seen how the emperor would justify his manifold cruelties and oppressions. The Gooroo was again desired to repair to Aurungzeb's presence, and he really appears to have proceeded to the south some time before the aged monarch was removed by death.*

Aurungzeb died in the beginning of 1707, and his eldest son, Buhâdur Shah, hastened from Caubul to secure the succession. He vanquished and slew one brother near Agra, and, marching to the south, he defeated a second, Kāmbukhsh, who died of his wounds.

* In this narrative of Govind's warlike actions, reference has been mainly had to the Vichitr Natuk of the Gooroo, to the Gooroo Bilas of Sookha Singh, and to the ordinary modern compilations in Persian and

Goormookhee; transcripts, imperfect apparently, of some of which latter have been put into English by Dr. Macgregor. (*History of the Sikhs*, pp. 79—99.)

While engaged in this last campaign, Buhâdur Shah summoned Govind to his camp. The Gooroo went; he was treated with respect and he received a military command in the valley of the Godâvery. The emperor perhaps thought that the leader of insurrectionary Juts might be usefully employed in opposing rebellious Mah-rattas, and Govind perhaps saw in the imperial service a ready way of disarming suspicion and of reorganizing his followers.* At Dumdumma he had again denounced evil upon all who should thenceforward desert him; in the south he selected the daring Bunda as an instrument, and the Sikhs speedily reappeared in overwhelming force upon the banks of the Sutlej. But Govind's race was run, and he was not himself fated to achieve aught more in person. He had engaged the services of an Afghan, half adventurer, half merchant, and he had procured from him a considerable number of horses.† The merchant, or servant, pleaded his own necessities, and urged the payment of large sums due to him. Impatient with delay, he used an angry gesture, and his mutterings of violence provoked Govind to strike him dead. The body of the slain Puthân was removed and buried, and his family seemed reconciled to the fate of its head. But his sons nursed their revenge, and awaited an opportunity of fulfilling it. They succeeded in stealing upon the Gooroo's retirement, and

1675—
1708.

Govind pro-
ceeds to the
south of
India.

Enters the
imperial
service.

* The Sikh writers seem unanimous in giving to their great teacher a military command in the Deccan, while some recent Mahometan compilers assert that he died at Patna. But the liberal conduct of Buhâdur Shah is confirmed by the contemporary historian, Khafêe Khan, who states that he received rank in the Moghul army (see Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, ii. 566, note), and it is in a degree corroborated by the undoubted fact of the Gooroo's death, on the banks of the Godâvery. The traditions preserved at Nuderb, give Kartik, 1765 (Sumbut), or towards the

end of 1703 A.D., as the date of Govind's arrival at that place.

† It would be curious to trace how far India was colonized in the intervals of great invasions by petty Afghan and Toorkmun leaders, who defrayed their first or occasional expenses by the sale of horses. Tradition represents that both the destroyer of Manikyala in the Punjab, and the founder of Bhutneer in Hurreana, were emigrants so circumstanced; and Ameer Khan, the recent Indian adventurer, was similarly reduced to sell his steeds for food. (*Memoirs of Ameer Khan*, p. 16.)

1675—
1708.

Govind
wounded by
assassins,

and dies de-
claring his
mission to
be ful-
filled, and
the Khâlsa
to be com-
mitted to
God, 1708
A. D.

stabbed him mortally when asleep or unguarded. Govind sprang up and the assassins were seized; but a sardonic smile played upon their features, and they justified their act of retribution. The Gooroo heard: he remembered the fate of their father, and he perhaps called to mind his own unavenged parent. He said to the youths that they had done well, and he directed that they should be released uninjured.* The expiring Gooroo was childless, and the assembled disciples asked in sorrow who should inspire them with truth and lead them to victory when he was no more. Govind bade them be of good cheer; the appointed Ten had indeed fulfilled their mission, but he was about to deliver the Khâlsa to God, the never-dying. "He who wishes to behold the Gooroo, let him search the Grunt'h of Nânuk. The Gooroo will dwell with the Khâlsa; be firm and be faithful: wherever five Sikhs are gathered together there will I also be present."†

Govind was killed in 1708, at Nudêrh, on the banks

* All the common accounts narrate the death of Govind as given in the text, but with slight differences of detail, while some add that the widow of the slain Puthân continually urged her sons to seek revenge. Many accounts, and especially those by Mahometans, likewise represent Govind to have become deranged in his mind; and a story told by some Sikh writers gives a degree of countenance to such a belief. They say that the heart of the Gooroo inclined towards the youths whose father he had slain, that he was wont to play simple games of skill with them, and that he took opportunities of inculcating upon them the merit of revenge, as if he was himself weary of life, and wished to fall by their hands. The Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 114.) simply says that Govind died of grief on account of the loss of his children. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 70. &c., and Elphinstone, *History*, ii. 564.) The accounts now fur-

nished by the priests of the temple at Nudêrh, represent the *one* assassin of the Gooroo to have been the grandson of the Payenda Khan, slain by Hur Govind, and they do not give him any further cause of quarrel with Govind himself.

† Such is the usual account given of the Gooroo's dying injunctions; and the belief that Govind consummated the mission or dispensation of Nânuk, seems to have been agreeable to the feelings of the times, while it now forms a main article of faith. The mother, and one wife of Govind, are represented to have survived him some years; but each, when dying, declared the Gooroo'ship to rest in the general body of the Khâlsa, and not in any one mortal; and hence the Sikhs do not give such a designation even to the most revered of their holy men, their highest religious title being "Bhaee," literally "brother," but corresponding in significance with the English term "elder."

of the Godavery.* He was in his forty-eighth year, and if it be thought by any that his obscure end belied the promise of his whole life, it should be remembered that —

“ The hand of man
Is but a tardy servant of the brain,
And follows, with its leaden diligence,
The fiery steps of fancy;” †

1675—
1708.

Govind's
end un-
timely but
labours not
fruitless.

that when Mahomet was a fugitive from Mecca, “ the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world ;” ‡ and that the Achilles of poetry, the reflection of truth, left Troy untaken. The lord of the Myrmidons, destined to a short life and immortal glory, met an end almost as base as that which he dreaded when struggling with Simois and Scamander ; and the heroic Richard, of eastern and western fame, whose whole soul was bent upon the deliverance of Jerusalem, veiled his face in shame and sorrow that God's holy city should be left in the possession of infidels : he would not behold that which he could not redeem, and he descended from the Mount to retire to captivity and a premature grave. § Success is thus not always the measure of greatness. The last apostle of the Sikhs

* Govind is stated to have been born in the month of “ Poh,” 1718 Sumbut, which may be the end of 1661, or beginning of 1662 A. D., and all accounts agree in placing his death about the middle of 1765 Sumbut, or towards the end of 1708 A. D.

At Nudêrh there is a large religious establishment, partly supported by the produce of landed estates, partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by sums levied annually, agreeably to the mode organised by Arjoon. The principal of the establishment despatches a person to show his requisition to the faithful, and all give according to their means. Thus the common horsemen in the employ of Bhopâl give a rupee and a quarter each a year, besides offerings on occasions of pilgrimage.

Runjeet Singh sent considerable

sums to Nudêrh, but the buildings commenced with the means which he provided have not been completed.

Nudêrh is also called Upchullânuggur, and in Southern and Central India it is termed pre-eminently “ the Goordwara,” that is, “ the house of the Gooroo.”

† Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, a dramatic poem, act iv. scene 6.

‡ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ix. 285.

§ For this story of the lion-like king, see Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, xi. 143.). See also Turner's comparison of the characters of Achilles and Richard (*History of England*, p. 300.), and Hallam's assent to its superior justness relatively to his own parallel of the Cid and the English hero (*Middle Ages*, iii. 482.).

1708—
1716.

A new character impressed upon the reformed Hindoos;

although not fully apparent to strangers, if so to Indians.

did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nānuk. Govind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Govind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially and given amplitude to their physical frames. The features and external form of a whole people have been modified, and a Sikh chief is not more distinguishable by his stately person and free and manly bearing, than a minister of his faith is by a lofty thoughtfulness of look, which marks the fervor of his soul, and his persuasion of the near presence of the Divinity.* Notwithstanding these changes it has been usual to regard the Sikhs as essentially Hindoo, and they doubtless are so in language and every-day customs, for Govind did not fetter his disciples with political systems or codes of municipal laws; yet, in religious faith and worldly aspirations, they are wholly different from other Indians, and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward object unknown elsewhere. But the misapprehension need not surprize the public nor condemn our scholars†,

* This physical change has been noticed by Sir Alex. Burnes (*Travels*, i. 285, and ii. 39.), by Elphinstone, (*History of India*, ii. 564.), and it also slightly struck Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 129.). Similarly a change of aspect, as well as of dress, &c., may be observed in the descendants of such members of Hindoo families as became Mahometans one or two centuries ago, and whose personal appearance may yet be readily compared with that of their undoubted Brahminical cousins in many parts of Malwa and Upper India. That

Prichard (*Physical History of Mankind*, i. 183. and i. 191.) notices no such change in the features, although he does in the characters, of the Hotentots and Esquimaux who have been converted to Christianity, may either show that the attention of our observers and inquirers has not been directed to the subject, or, that the savages in question have embraced a new faith with little of living ardor and absorbing enthusiasm.

† The author alludes chiefly to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose learning and industry is doing so

when it is remembered that the learned of Greece and Rome misunderstood the spirit of those humble men who obtained a new life by baptism. Tacitus and Suetonius regarded the early Christians as a mere Jewish sect, they failed to perceive the fundamental difference, and to appreciate the latent energy and real excellence, of that doctrine, which has added dignity and purity to modern civilization.*

1708—
1716.

Bunda, the chosen disciple of Govind, was a native of the south of India, and an ascetic of the Byraghee order†; and the extent of the deceased Gooroo's preparations and means will be best understood from the narrative of the career of his followers, when his own

Bunda succeeds
Govind as a
temporal
leader.

much for Indian History. (See *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 237, 238. and *Continuation of Mills' History*, vii. 101, 102.) Malcolm holds similar views in one place (*Sketch*, pp. 144. 148. 150.), but somewhat contradicts himself in another. (*Sketch*, p. 43.) With these opinions, however, may be compared the more correct views of Elphinstone (*History of India*, ii. 562. 564.), and Sir Alex. Burnes (*Travels*, i. 284, 285.), and also Major Browne's observation (*India Tracts*, ii. 4.), that the Sikh doctrine bore the same relation to the Hindoo, as the Protestant does to the Romish.

* See the *Annals of Tacitus*, Murphy's Translation (book xv. sect. 44. note 15.). Tacitus calls Christianity a dangerous superstition, and regards its professors as moved by "a sullen hatred of the whole human race"—the Judaic characteristic of the period. Suetonius talks of the *Jews* raising disturbances in the reign of Claudius, at the instigation of "one Chrestus," thus evidently mistaking the whole of the facts, and further making a Latin name, genuine indeed, but misapplied, of the Greek term for anointed.

Again, the obscure historian, Vopiscus, preserves a letter, written by the Emperor Hadrian, in which the Christians are confounded with the adorers of Serapis, and in which the *bishops* are said to be especially de-

voted to the worship of that strange god, who was introduced into Egypt by the Ptolemies (Waddington, *History of the Church*, p. 37.); and even Eusebius himself did not properly distinguish between Christians and the Essenic Therapeutæ (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, i. 294.), although the latter formed essentially a mere sect, or order, affecting asceticism and mystery.

It is proper to add that Mr. Newman quotes the descriptions of Tacitus and others as referring really to Christians and not to Jews (*On the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 205, &c.) He may be right, but the grounds of his dissent from the views of preceding scholars are not given.

† Some accounts represent Bunda to have been a native of Northern India, and the writer, followed by Major Browne (*India Tracts*, ii. 9.), says he was born in the Jalundbur Doob.

"Bunda" signifies *the slave*, and Suroop Chund the author of the Goor Rutnaolee, states that the Byraghee took the name or title when he met Govind in the south, and found that the powers of his tutelary god Vishnoo, were ineffectual in the presence of the Gooroo. Thenceforward, he said, he would be the slave of Govind.

1708—
1716.

Proceeds to
the north,
and cap-
tures
Sirhind,
1709-10.

The em-
peror
marches
towards
Lahore.

But Bunda
is in the
mean time
driven to-
wards Jum-
moo.

Buhâdur
Shah dies at
Lahore,
1712.

commanding spirit was no more. The Sikhs gathered in numbers round Bunda when he reached the north-west, bearing with him the arrows of Govind as the pledge of victory. Bunda put to flight the Moghul authorities in the neighborhood of Sirhind, and then attacked, defeated, and slew the governor of the province. Sirhind was plundered, and the Hindoo betrayer and Mussulman destroyer of Govind's children, were themselves put to death by the avenging Sikhs.* Bunda next established a stronghold below the hills of Sirmoor †, he occupied the country between the Sutlej and Jumna, and he laid waste the district of Seharunpoor. ‡

Buhâdur Shah, the emperor, had subdued his rebellious brother Kambukhsh, he had come to terms with the Mahrattas, and he was desirous of reducing the princes of Rajpootana to their old dependence, when he heard of the defeat of his troops and the sack of his city by the hitherto unknown Bunda. § He hastened towards the Punjab, and he did not pause to enter his capital after his southern successes; but in the mean time his generals had defeated a body of Sikhs near Paneeput, and Bunda was surrounded in his new stronghold. A zealous convert, disguised like his leader, allowed himself to be captured during a sally of the besieged, and Bunda withdrew with all his followers. || After some successful skirmishes he established himself near Jummoo in the hills north of Lahore, and laid the fairest part of the Punjab under contribution. Buhâdur

* For several particulars, true or fanciful, relating to the capture of Sirhind, see Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 9, 10. See also Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 565, 566. Vuzeer Khan was clearly the name of the governor, and not Fowjdar Khan, as mentioned by Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 77, 78.). Vuzeer Khan was indeed the "Fowjdar," or military commander in the province, and the word is as often used as a proper name as to denote an office.

† This was at Mookhlispoor, near

Sadowra, which lies N. E. from Ambala, and it appears to be the "Lohgurrh," that is, the iron or strong fort, of the Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 115.).

‡ Forster, *Travels*, i. 304.

§ Compare Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 561., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 304. This was in 1709-10 A. D.

|| Compare Elphinstone, *History*, ii. 566., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 305. The zeal of the devotee was applauded without being pardoned by the emperor.

Shah had by this time advanced to Lahore in person, and he died there in the month of February 1712.*

The death of the emperor brought on another contest for the throne. His eldest son, Jehândâr Shah, retained power for a year, but in February 1713 he was defeated and put to death by his nephew Ferokhseer. These commotions were favorable to the Sikhs; they again became united and formidable, and they built for themselves a considerable fort, named Goordaspoor, between the Beas and Ravee.† The viceroy of Lahore marched against Bunda, but he was defeated in a pitched battle, and the Sikhs sent forward a party towards Sirhind, the governor of which, Bayezeed Khan, advanced to oppose them. A fanatic crept under his tent and mortally wounded him; the Mahometans dispersed, but the city does not seem to have fallen a second time a prey to the exulting Sikhs.‡ The emperor now ordered Abdool Summud Khan, the governor of Cashmeer, a Tooranee noble and a skilful general, to assume the command in the Punjab, and he sent to his aid some chosen troops from the eastward. Abdool Summud Khan brought with him some thousands of his own warlike countrymen, and as soon as he was in possession of a train of artillery he left Lahore, and, falling upon the Sikh army, he defeated it, after a fierce resistance on the part of Bunda. The success was followed up, and Bunda retreated from post to post, fighting valiantly and inflicting heavy losses on his victors; but he was at length compelled to shelter himself in the fort of Goordaspoor. He was closely besieged; nothing could be conveyed to him from without; and after consuming all his provisions, and eating horses, asses, and even the forbidden ox, he was re-

1708—
1716.

Jehândâr
Shah slain
by Ferokh-
seer, who
becomes
emperor,
1713.

The Sikhs
reappear
under Bun-
da, and the
province of
Sirhind
plundered.

Bunda
eventually
reduced and
taken pri-
soner, A. D.
1716;

* Compare the *Seir ool Mutakhe-reen*, i. 109. 112.

† Goordaspoor is near Kullanowr, where Akber was saluted as emperor, and it appears to be the Lohgurb of the ordinary accounts followed by Forster, Malcolm, and others. It

now contains a monastery of Sârsoot Brahmins, who have adopted many of the Sikh modes and tenets.

‡ Some accounts nevertheless represent Bunda to have again possessed himself of Sirhind.

1708—
1716.



and put to
death at
Delhi.

The views
of Bunda
confined
and his
memory not
reversed.

duced to submit.* Some of the Sikhs were put to death, and their heads were borne on pikes before Bunda and others as they were marched to Delhi with all the signs of ignominy usual with bigots, and common among barbarous or half civilized conquerors.† A hundred Sikhs were put to death daily, contending among themselves for priority of martyrdom, and on the eighth day Bunda himself was arraigned before his judges. A Mahometan noble asked the ascetic from conviction, how one of his knowledge and understanding could commit crimes which would dash him into hell; but Bunda answered that he had been as a mere scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of the wicked, and that he was now receiving the meed of his own crimes against the Almighty. His son was placed upon his knees, — a knife was put into his hands, and he was required to take the life of his child. He did so, silent and unmoved; his own flesh was then torn with red-hot pincers, and amid these torments he expired, his dark soul, say the Mahometans, winging its way to the regions of the damned.‡

The memory of Bunda is not held in much esteem by the Sikhs; he appears to have been of a gloomy disposition, and he was obeyed as an energetic and daring leader, without being able to engage the personal sympathies of his followers. He did not perhaps

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 79, 80., Forster, *Travels*, i. 306. and note, and the *Seir ool Mutakhhereen*, i. 116, 117. The ordinary accounts make the Sikh army amount to 35,000 men (Forster says 20,000); they also detain Abdool Summud a year at Lahore before he undertook anything, and they bring down all the hill chiefs to his aid, both of which circumstances are probable enough.

† *Seir ool Mutakhhereen*, i. 118, 120. Elphinstone (*History*, ii. 574, 575.), quoting the contemporary Khafee Khan, says the prisoners amounted

to 740. The *Seir ool Mutakhhereen* relates how the old mother of Bayezed Khan killed the assassin of her son, by letting fall a stone on his head, as he and the other prisoners were being led through the streets of Lahore.

‡ Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 82.), who quotes the *Seir ool Mutakhhereen*. The defeat and death of Bunda are placed by the *Seir ool Mutakhhereen* (i. 109.), by Orme (*History*, ii. 22.), and apparently by Elphinstone (*History*, ii. 564.), in the year 1716 A.D.; but Forster (*Travels*, i. 306, note) has the date 1714.

comprehend the general nature of Nānuk's and Govind's reforms ; the spirit of sectarianism possessed him, and he endeavored to introduce changes into the modes and practices enjoined by these teachers, which should be more in accordance with his own ascetic and Hindoo notions. These unwise innovations and restrictions were resisted by the more zealous Sikhs, and they may have caused the memory of an able and enterprising leader to be generally neglected.*

1708—
1716.

After the death of Bunda an active persecution was kept up against the Sikhs, whose losses in battle had been great and depressing. All who could be seized had to suffer death, or to renounce their faith. A price, indeed, was put upon their heads, and so vigorously were the measures of prudence, or of vengeance, followed up, that many conformed to Hindooism ; others abandoned the outward signs of their belief, and the more sincere had to seek a refuge among the recesses of the hills, or in the woods to the south of the Sutlej. The Sikhs were scarcely again heard of in history for the period of a generation.†

The Sikhs generally much depressed after the death of Bunda.

Thus, at the end of two centuries, had the Sikh faith become established as a prevailing sentiment and guiding principle to work its way in the world. Nānuk disengaged his little society of worshippers from Hindoo idolatry and Mahometan superstition, and placed them free on a broad basis of religious and moral purity ; Ummer Das preserved the infant community from declining into a sect of quietists or ascetics ; Arjoon gave his increasing followers a written rule of conduct and a

Recapitulation.

Nānuk.

Ummer Das.

Arjoon.

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 83, 84. But Bunda is sometimes styled Gooroo by Indians, as in the *Seir ool Mutakhereen* (i. 114.), and there is still an order of half-conformist Sikhs which regards him as its founder. Bunda, it is reported, wished to establish a sect of his own, saying that of Govind could not endure ; and he is further declared to have wished to change the exclamation

or salutation, "Wah Gooroo ke Futteh!" which had been used or ordained by Govind, into "Futteh Dhurum!" and "Futteh Dursun!" (Victory to faith! Victory to the sect!) Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 83, 84.

† Compare Forster (*Travels*, i. 312, 313.), and Browne (*India Tracts*, ii. 13.), and also Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 85, 86.).

1708—
1716.
Hur Go-
vind.
Govind
Singh.

civil organization ; Hur Govind added the use of arms and a military system ; and Govind Singh bestowed upon them a distinct political existence, and inspired them with the desire of being socially free and nationally independent. No further legislation was required ; a firm persuasion had been elaborated, and a vague feeling had acquired consistence as an active principle. The operation of this faith become a fact, is only now in progress, and the fruit it may yet bear cannot be foreseen. Sikhism arose where fallen and corrupt Brahminical doctrines were most strongly acted on by the vital and spreading Mahometan belief. It has now come into contact with the civilization and Christianity of Europe, and the result can only be known to a distant posterity.*

* There are also elements of change within Sikhism itself, and dissent is everywhere a source of weakness and decay, although sometimes it denotes a temporary increase of strength and energy. Sikh sects, at least of quietists, are already numerous, although the great development of the tenets of Gooroo Govind has thrown other denominations into the shade. Thus the prominent division into "Khulāsa," meaning of Nānuk, and "Khālsa," meaning of Govind, which is noticed

by Forster (*Travels*, i. 309.), is no longer in force. The former term, Khulāsa, is almost indeed unknown in the present day, while all claim membership with the Khālsa. Nevertheless, the peaceful Sikhs of the first teacher are still to be everywhere met with in the cities of India, although the warlike Singhs of the tenth king have become predominant in the Punjab, and have scattered themselves as soldiers from Caubul to the south of India.

Note.—The reader is referred to Appendices I. II. III. and IV. for some account of the Grunt's of the Sikhs, for some illustrations of principles and practices taken from the writings of the Gooroos, and for abstracts of certain letters attributed to Nānuk and Govind, and which are descriptive of some views and modes of the Sikh people. Appendix V. may also be referred to for a list of some Sikh sects or denominations.

with the British Government for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these States. Those of the Chiefs who show alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty, which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted thereby; and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British Government, and will be punished accordingly.

The inhabitants of all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British Government. All parties of men found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers of the public peace.

All subjects of the British Government, and those who possess estates on both sides the river Sutlej, who, by their faithful adherence to the British Government, may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges.

On the other hand, all subjects of the British Government who shall continue in the service of the Lahore State, and who disobey the proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side the Sutlej confiscated, and themselves declared to be aliens and enemies of the British Government.

APPENDIX XXXIV.

FIRST TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1846.

Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore, on March 9th, 1846.

WHEREAS the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British Government and the late Muharaja

Runjeet Singh, the ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by the unprovoked aggression on the British provinces of the Sikh army, in December last: And whereas, on that occasion, by the proclamation dated the 13th of December, the territories then in the occupation of the Muharaja of Lahore, on the left or British bank of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces; and, since that time, hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments, the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops: And whereas it has been determined that, upon certain conditions, peace shall be re-established between the two Governments, the following treaty of peace between the Honorable English East India Company, and Muharaja Dhuleep Singh Bahadoor, and his children, heirs, and successors, has been concluded, on the part of the Honorable Company, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Governor General, appointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies; and, on the part of his Highness the Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, by Bhaee Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Chutter Singh Attareewalla, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Dewan Deena Nath, and Fakeer Noor-ooddeen, vested with full powers and authority on the part of his Highness.

Article 1.—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government, on the one part, and Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, his heirs and successors, on the other.

Article 2.—The Muharaja of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connection with, the territories lying to the south of the river Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories, or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 3.—The Muharaja cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and

rights, in the Dooab, or country, hill and plain, situate between the rivers Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4. — The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article 3, payment of one and a half crores of rupees; and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment; the Muharaja cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the hill countries which are situate between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Article 5. — The Muharaja will pay to the British Government the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, on or before the ratification of this treaty.

Article 6. — The Muharaja engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their arms; and his Highness agrees to reorganize the regular, or Aieen, regiments of infantry, upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Muharaja Runjeet Singh. The Muharaja further engages to pay up all arrears to the soldiers that are discharged under the provisions of this article.

Article 7. — The regular army of the Lahore State shall henceforth be limited to 25 battalions of infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each, with 12,000 cavalry: this number at no time to be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be necessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British Government; and, when the special necessity shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former clause of this article.

Article 8. — The Muharaja will surrender to the British Government all the guns, thirty-six in number, which have been pointed against the British troops, and which, having

been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at the battle of Sobraon.

Article 9.—The control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej, with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Garrah and Punjnad, to the confluence of the Indus at Mithenkot, and the control of the Indus from Mithenkot to the borders of Beloochistan, shall, in respect to tolls and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic, or the conveyance of passengers up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several ghats of the said rivers, it is agreed that the British Government, after defraying all the expenses of management and establishments, shall account to the Lahore Government for one half of the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this article have no reference to the ferries on that part of the river Sutlej which forms the boundary of Bahâwulpore and Lahore respectively.

Article 10.—If the British Government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of his Highness the Muharaja for the protection of the British territories, or those of their allies, the British troops shall, on such special occasions, due notice being given, be allowed to pass through the Lahore territories. In such case, the officers of the Lahore State will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of rivers; and the British Government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be endamaged. The British Government will moreover observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

Article 11.—The Muharaja engages never to take, or retain, in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 12.—In consideration of the services rendered by

Raja Golab Singh of Jummoo to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Muharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Golab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Golab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of the late Muharaja Kurruk Singh: and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Golab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government.

Article 13. — In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Raja Golab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government; and by its decision the Muharaja engages to abide.

Article 14. — The limits of the Lahore territories shall not be, at any time, changed, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 15. — The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.

Article 16. — The subjects of either State shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favored nation.

This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, on the part of the British Government; and by Bhaee Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Chutter Singh Attareewalla, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Dewan Deena Nath, and Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, on the part of the Muharaja Dhuleep Singh; and the said

treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, and by that of his Highness Muharaja Dhuleep Singh.

Done at Lahore, this 9th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 10th day of Rubbeeool-awul, 1262, Hijree, and ratified on the same day.

APPENDIX XXXV.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLES TO FIRST TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1846.

Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on the 11th of March, 1846.

WHEREAS the Lahore Government has solicited the Governor General to leave a British force at Lahore, for the protection of the Muharaja's person and of the capital, till the reorganization of the Lahore army, according to the provisions of article 6 of the treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th instant: And whereas the Governor General has, on certain conditions, consented to the measure: And whereas it is expedient that certain matters concerning the territories ceded by articles 3 and 4 of the aforesaid treaty should be specifically determined; the following eight articles of agreement have this day been concluded between the afore-mentioned contracting parties.

Article 1. — The British Government shall leave at Lahore, till the close of the current year, A. D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor General adequate for the purpose of protecting the person of the Muharaja, and the inhabitants of the city of Lahore, during the reorganization

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of the Sikh army, in accordance with the provisions of article 6 of the treaty of Lahore; that force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Durbar, have been obtained; but the force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year.

Article 2. — The Lahore Government agrees that the force left at Lahore, for the purpose specified in the foregoing article, shall be placed in full possession of the fort and the city of Lahore, and that the Lahore troops shall be removed from within the city. The Lahore Government engages to furnish convenient quarters for the officers and men of the said force, and to pay to the British Government all the extra expences, in regard to the said force, which may be incurred by the British Government, in consequence of their troops being employed away from their own cantonments, and in a foreign territory.

Article 3. — The Lahore Government engages to apply itself immediately and earnestly to the reorganization of its army, according to the prescribed conditions, and to communicate fully with the British authorities left at Lahore, as to the progress of such reorganization, and as to the location of the troops.

Article 4. — If the Lahore Government fails in the performance of the conditions of the foregoing article, the British Government shall be at liberty to withdraw the force from Lahore, at any time before the expiration of the period specified in article 1.

Article 5. — The British Government agrees to respect the *bonâ fide* rights of those Jagheerdars within the territories ceded by articles 3 and 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th instant, who were attached to the families of the late Muharaja Runjeet Singh, Kurruk Singh, and Shere Singh; and the British Government will maintain those Jagheerdars in their *bonâ fide* possessions, during their lives.

Article 6. — The Lahore Government shall receive the assistance of the British local authorities in recovering the arrears of revenue justly due to the Lahore Government from their Kardars and managers in the territories ceded by the

provisions of articles 3 and 4 of the treaty of Lahore, to the close of the Khureef harvest of the current year, viz. 1902, of the Sumbut Bikramajeet.

Article 7. — The Lahore Government shall be at liberty to remove from the forts in the territories specified in the foregoing article, all treasure and state property, with the exception of guns. Should, however, the British Government desire to retain any part of the said property, they shall be at liberty to do so, paying for the same at a fair valuation; and the British officers shall give their assistance to the Lahore Government, in disposing on the spot of such part of the aforesaid property as the Lahore Government may not wish to remove, and the British officers may not desire to retain.

Article 8. — Commissioners shall be immediately appointed by the two Governments, to settle and lay down the boundary between the two States, as defined by article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated March 9th, 1846.

APPENDIX XXXVI.

TREATY WITH GOLAB SINGH OF 1846.

Treaty between the British Government and Muharaja Golab Singh, concluded at Umrutsir, on March 16th, 1846.

TREATY between the British Government on the one part, and Muharaja Golab Singh of Jummoo on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Governor General, ap-

pointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Muharaja Golab Singh in person.

Article 1. — The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Muharaja Golab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravee, including Chumba and excluding Lahool, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated March 9th, 1846.

Article 2. — The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Muharaja Golab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Muharaja Golab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3. — In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Muharaja Golab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4. — The limits of the territories of Muharaja Golab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5. — Muharaja Golab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6. — Muharaja Golab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7. — Muharaja Golab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subject, nor the subject

of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8. — Muharaja Golab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of articles 5, 6, and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9. — The British Government will give its aid to Muharaja Golab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10. — Muharaja Golab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male, and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, on the part of the British Government, and by Muharaja Golab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General.

Done at Umrutsir, this 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rubbeeool-awul, 1262, Hijree.

APPENDIX XXXVII.

SECOND TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1846.

Foreign Department, Camp, Bhyrowal Ghat, on the left Bank of the Beas, the 22d December, 1846.

THE late Governor of Cashmere, on the part of the Lahore State, Sheik Imam Ooddeen, having resisted by force of arms

the occupation of the province of Cashmere by Muharaja Golab Singh, the Lahore Government was called upon to coerce their subject, and to make over the province to the representative of the British Government, in fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

A British force was employed to support and aid, if necessary, the combined forces of the Lahore State and Muharaja Golab Singh in the above operations.

Sheik Imam Ooddeen intimated to the British Government that he was acting under orders received from the Lahore Durbar in the course he was pursuing; and stated that the insurrection had been instigated by written instructions received by him from the Vizier Raja Lall Singh.

Sheik Imam Ooddeen surrendered to the British agent on a guarantee from that officer, that if the Sheik could, as he asserted, prove that his acts were in accordance with his instructions, and that the opposition was instigated by the Lahore minister, the Durbar should not be permitted to inflict upon him, either in his person or his property, any penalty on account of his conduct on this occasion. The British agent pledged his Government to a full and impartial investigation of the matter.

A public inquiry was instituted into the facts adduced by Sheik Imam Ooddeen, and it was fully established that Raja Lall Singh did secretly instigate the Sheik to oppose the occupation by Muharaja Golab Singh of the province of Cashmere.

The Governor General immediately demanded that the ministers and Chiefs of the Lahore State should depose and exile to the British provinces the Vizier Raja Lall Singh.

His Lordship consented to accept the deposition of Raja Lall Singh as an atonement for the attempt to infringe the treaty by the secret intrigues and machinations of the Vizier. It was not proved that the other members of the Durbar had cognizance of the Vizier's proceedings; and the conduct of the Sirdars, and of the Sikh army in the late operations for quelling the Cashmere insurrection, and removing the obstacles to the fulfilment of the treaty, proved that the criminality of the Vizier was not participated in by the Sikh nation.

The Ministers and Chiefs unanimously decreed, and carried into immediate effect, the deposition of the Vizier.

After a few days' deliberations, relative to the means of forming a government at Lahore, the remaining members of the Durbar, in concert with all the Sirdars and Chiefs of the State, solicited the interference and aid of the British Government for the maintenance of an administration, and the protection of the Muharaja Dhuleep Singh during the minority of his Highness.

This solicitation by the Durbar and Chiefs has led to the temporary modification of the relations between the British Government and that of Lahore, established by the treaty of the 9th March of the present year.

The terms and conditions of this modification are set forth in the following articles of agreement.

Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar on 16th December, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the principal Chiefs and Sirdars of the State have, in express terms, communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor General should give his aid and his assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State during the minority of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the government: And whereas the Governor General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited, the following articles of agreement, in modification of the articles of agreement executed at Lahore on the 11th March last, have been concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C. B., agent to the Governor General, North West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honorable Viscount Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, and on the part of his Highness Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, by Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, Rasee Kishen

Chund, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewalla, Bhaee Nidhân Singh, Sirdar Khan Singh Mujeetheea, Sirdar Shumshere Singh, Sirdar Lall Singh Morarea, Sirdar Kher Singh Sindhanwalla, Sirdar Urjun Singh Rungrungleea, acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sirdars of the State assembled at Lahore.

Article 1. — All and every part of the treaty of peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to clause 15 of the said treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Article 2. — A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.

Article 3. — Every attention shall be paid, in conducting the administration to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintain the just rights of all classes.

Article 4. — Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for effecting the objects set forth in the foregoing clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by native officers, as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article 5. — The following persons shall in the first instance constitute the Council of Regency, *viz.*, — Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh Attareewalla, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Bhaee Nidhân Singh, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewalla, Sirdar Shumshere Singh Sindhanwalla; and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated, without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor General.

Article 6. — The administration of the country shall be conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as may be determined on by themselves in consultation with the British Resident, who shall have full authority to direct and control the duties of every department.

Article 7. — A British force, of such strength and numbers, and in such positions, as the Governor General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Muharaja, and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article 8. — The Governor General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article 9. — The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty-two lacs of new Nanukshahee rupees of full tale and weight per annum, for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government; such sum to be paid by two instalments, or 13 lacs and 20,000 in May or June, and 8 lacs and 80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article 10. — Inasmuch as it is fitting that her Highness the Muharanee, the mother of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependents, the sum of 1 lac and 50,000 rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at her Highness's disposal.

Article 11. — The provisions of this engagement shall have effect during the minority of his Highness Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on his Highness attaining the full age of 16 years, or on the 4th September of the year 1854; but it shall be competent to the Governor General to cause the arrangement to cease, at any period prior to the coming of age of his Highness, at which the Governor General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the government of his Highness the Muharaja.

This agreement, consisting of eleven articles, was settled and executed at Lahore, by the officers and Chiefs and Sirdars above named, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

APPENDIX XXXVIII.

REVENUES OF THE PUNJAB, AS ESTIMATED IN 1844.

TRIBUTARY STATES.			Rupees.	Rupees.
Belaspoor.	Tribute, 10,000.	Under Lehna		
Singh	-	-	70,000	
Sookêt.	Do. 25,000.	Do.	70,000	
Chumba.	Not known.	Under Golab Singh	2,00,000	
Rajâoree.	Do.	Do.	1,00,000	
Ludakh.	Tribute, 42,000.	Do.	1,00,000	
Iskardo.	Do. 7,000.	Do.	25,000	
				5,65,000
<p><i>Note.</i>—All of these States, excepting Belaspoor, may be regarded rather as farms held by the Chiefs than as tributary principalities; and, ordinarily, all the resources of the Chiefs being at the disposal of the government representative, the probable revenues have therefore been entered in full, instead of the mere pecuniary payment.</p>				
LAND REVENUE.				
<i>Farms.</i>				
Mundee.	Farm with the Raja of Mundee, who was allowed one lakh out of the four for his expenses	-	4,00,000	
Kooloo.	The members of the family had pensions	-	1,20,000	
Juswan.	The family had a Jagheer	-	1,25,000	
Kanggra.	Do. not included in the farm	-	6,00,000	
Kotlehr.	The family had a Jagheer	-	25,000	
Carried forward			12,70,000	5,65,000

LAND REVENUE— <i>Farms (continued).</i>		Rupees.	Rupees.
Brought forward - - - -		12,70,000	5,65,000
Seeba. The family may almost be regarded as Jagheerdars for the whole estate: they served with horse - - - -		20,000	
Noorpoor. The family had a Jagheer - -		3,00,000	
Hurreepoor. Do. - - - -		1,00,000	
Dutárpoor. Do. - - - -		50,000	
Kotluh. Do. - - - -		20,000	
<i>Note.</i> —The above were all under Lehna Singh Mújeepheea.			
Bissohlee. Family at large: was held by Raja Heera Singh - - - -		75,000	
Cashmeer. Shekh Gholam Moheioddeen: Contract - 21,00,000 Troops - 5,00,000 Assignments - 4,00,000		30,00,000	
Mozufferabad, &c. (Under Cashmeer.) The Mozufferabad Chief a Jagheerdar - -		1,00,000	
Chutch Huzara and Pukhlee { Raja Golab Singh. The Gundghur and Turnowlee Chiefs have Jagheers; but they are almost independent freebooters - - }		1,50,000	
Dhumtownr. {			
Rawil Pindee. Deewan Hakim Raee - -		1,00,000	
Hussun Abdal, { Deewan Mool Raj: he lately held Chutch Huzara } Khatir, and { also - - - - }		1,00,000	
Ghehpee. {			
Dhunnee, Kutass, } Raja Golab Sing - -		1,00,000	
and Chukkowal }			
Peshawur. Sirdar Tej Singh. The Barukzaees have Jagheers - - - -		10,00,000	
Tank-Bunnoo. Deewan Dowlut Raee. The Chief fled; his brother a Jagheer - -		2,50,000	
Dera Ismaeel Khan. Deewan Dowlut Raee. Chief a Jagheer - - - -		4,50,000	
Mooltan, Dera Ghazee } Deewan Sawun Mull Khan, Munkehra. { Contract - 36,00,000 Troops - 7,00,000 Assignments, &c. 2,00,000		45,00,000	
Ramnuggur, &c. Deewan Sawun Mull - -		3,00,000	
Mitta Towana. The late Dhian Singh - -		1,00,000	
Bt ereh Khoosháb. Raja Golab Singh - -		1,00,000	
Pind Dadul Khan. Do. - - - -		50,000	
Goojrat. Do. - - - -		3,00,000	
Vuzeerabad, &c. The late Soochet Singh - -		9,00,000	
Seealkot. Raja Golab Singh - - - -		50,000	
Carried forward - - - -		1,33,85,000	5,65,000

LAND REVENUE— <i>Farms (continued).</i>		Rupees.	Rupees.
Brought forward - - - -	-	1,33,85,000	5,65,000
Jalundhur Dooab. Shekh Emamooddeen -	-	22,00,000	
Shekhoodpoora, &c. Shekh Emamooddeen -	-	2,50,000	
Cis Sutlej farms - - - -	-	6,50,000	
Miscellaneous farms in the Punjab - -	-	15,00,000	
			1,79,85,000
<i>Religious Grants.</i>			
Held by "Sôdhees" - - - -	-	5,00,000	
Held by "Behdees" - - - -	-	4,00,000	
Miscellaneous; viz. Akalees, Fukeers, Brahmins, and the lands attached to Amritsir, &c. &c. - - - -	-	11,00,000	
			20,00,000
<i>Hill Jagheers of the Jummoo Rajas.</i>			
Jesrota, &c. Heera Singh. The Chief a Jagheer	-	1,25,000	
Pader, and other districts of Chumba. } Golab Singh - -	-	1,00,000	
Bhudurwah. Golab Singh (in Jagheer with uncle of Chumba Raja) - - - -	-	50,000	
Mankot. The late Soochet Singh. Family a Jagheer - - - -	-	50,000	
Bhuddoo. Do. Do. - - - -	-	50,000	
Bundralta. Do. Do. - - - -	-	1,25,000	
Chuneinee (Ram-nuggur). } Golab Singh. Do. -	-	30,000	
Jummoo and } Golab Singh. Families mostly } Reeassee. { refugees - - - - }	-	4,00,000	
Samba. The late Soochet Singh. Family extinct or fled - - - -	-	40,000	
Kishtwar. Golab Singh. Family refugees -	-	1,50,000	
Ukhnoor, including } Chukkana, with } Golab Singh. Family a } Kesree Singh's } Jagheer. }	-	50,000	
Bhimbur. The late Dhian Singh. Some members of family Jagheers; others refugees -	-	1,50,000	
The Chibh-Bhow tribes. The late Dhian Singh. Family Jagheers - - - -	-	1,00,000	
Kotlee. The late Dhian Singh. Fam. Jagheers	-	30,000	
Soonutch. Do. Family perhaps refugees - - - -	-	70,000	
Dangullee, Khanpoor, &c. Golab Singh. Some members of family Jagheers; others prisoners; others refugees - - - -	-	1,00,000	
Total—Hill Jagheers - - - -		16,20,000	
Carried forward - - - -		16,20,000	2,05,50,000

LAND REVENUE— <i>Jagheers.</i>		Rupees.	Rupees.
Brought forward - - - -		16,20,000	2,05,50,000
Various Jagheers held by the Jummoo Rajas (in the plains) - - - -		5,00,000	
The Kanggra Rajas (Runbeer Chund, &c.) - -		1,00,000	
Sirdar Lehna Singh Mujeethea - - - -		3,50,000	
Sirdar Nihal Singh Alhoowalea - - - -		9,00,000	
Sirdar Kishen Singh (son of Jemadar Khooshal Singh) - - - -		1,20,000	
Sirdar Tej Singh - - - -		60,000	
Sirdars Sham Singh and Chutter Singh Attaree- wallas - - - -		1,20,000	
Sirdar Shumsher Singh Sindhanwala - - -		15,000	
Sirdar Urjoon Singh, and other sons of Hurree Singh - - - -		15,000	
Konwur Peshawura Singh - - - -		5,000	
Konwur Tara Singh - - - -		20,000	
Sirdar Jowahir Singh (uncle of Dhuleep Singh)		50,000	
Sirdar Munggul Singh - - - -		50,000	
Sirdar Futteh Singh Man - - - -		50,000	
Sirdar Uttur Singh Kaleeanwala - - - -		50,000	
Sirdar Hookum Singh Mulwae - - - -		50,000	
Sirdar Behla Singh Mokul - - - -		50,000	
Sirdars Sooltan Mahomed, Syed Mahomed, and Peer Mahomed Khans - - - -		1,50,000	
Sirdar Jumalooddeen Khan - - - -		1,00,000	
Shekh Gholam Moheecooddeen - - - -		30,000	
Fukeer Uzeezooddeen and his brothers - -		1,00,000	
Deewan Sawun Mull - - - -		20,000	
Miscellaneous - - - -		50,00,000	
			95,25,000
CUSTOMS, &c.			
Salt Mines. Raja Golab Singh - - - -		8,00,000	
Town Duties. Amritsir. The late Dhian Singh		5,50,000	
Do. Lahore. Do. - - - -		1,50,000	
Miscellaneous Town Duties - - - -		1,00,000	
"Abkaree" (Excise), &c. &c. Lahore - - -		50,000	
Transit Duties. Loodiana to Peshawur - -		5,00,000	
"Mohurána" (Stamps) - - - -		2,50,000	
			24,00,000
Total - - - -			3,24,75,000

RECAPITULATION.

				Rupees.
LAND REVENUE :—				
Tributary States	-	-	-	5,65,000
Farms	-	-	-	1,79,85,000
Eleemosynary	-	-	-	20,00,000
Jagheers	-	-	-	95,25,000
CUSTOMS, &c.	-	-	-	24,00,000
Total	-	-	-	3,24,75,000

APPENDIX XXXIX.

THE ARMY OF LAHORE, AS RECORDED IN 1844.

The Regular Army.		Infantry Regiments.	Cavalry Regiments.	Light Artillery.	Heavy Guns.	
Commandants of Corps.	Description or Race of Men.				Field.	Garri- son.
Sirdar Tej Singh - -	Sikhs - - - -	4	1	10	0	0
Gen. Pertab Singh Puttee- wala.	Sikhs - - - -	3	0	0	0	0
Gen. Jowala Singh - -	Inf. Sikhs; Art. Sikhs and Mahometans.	2	0	4	0	0
Shekh Emamooddeen - -	Mahometans - -	3	0	4	0	0
Sirdar Lehna Singh Mu- jeetheea.	Infantry, Sikhs; Guns, chiefly Sikhs.	2	0	10	3	2
Gen. Bishen Singh - -	Mahometans; a few Sikhs	2	0	3	0	0
Gen. Golab Singh Pohoo- vindheea.	3 Mahometans; Guns, Sikhs and Mahometans	3*	0	14	0	0
Gen. Mehtab Singh Mu- jeetheea.	Inf. Sikhs; Cav. mixed; Art. Sikhs and Mah.	4	1	12	0	0
Gen. Goordut Singh Mu- jeetheea.	{ Inf. chiefly Sikhs; } Guns, S. and M.	3	0	0	0	0
Col. John Holmes - -	{ Formerly under Gen. Court.	1	0	10	0	0
Gen. Dhowkul Singh - -	Hindoostanees; a few Sikhs.	2	0	0	0	0
Colonel Cortlandt (dis- charged).	Inf. Sikhs and Hind.; Guns, Sikhs and Mah.	2	0	10	0	0
Shekh Gholam Moheiood- deen.	Inf. Sikhs? Guns, Sikhs and Mahometans.	1	0	6	8	0
Carried forward - - -		32	2	83	11	2

* Shekh Emamooddeen subsequently raised a fourth regiment.

ARMY OF LAHORE, (continued).

The Regular Army.		Infantry Regiments.	Cavalry Regiments.	Light Artillery.	Heavy Guns.	
Commandants of Corps.	Description or Race of Men.				Field.	Garrison.
Brought forward -	- - - - -	32	2	83	11	2
Deewan Adjoodeheea Pershad; Guns under Ilah- hee Bukhsh, General -	Inf. Sikhs; Art. Sikhs and Mahometans (Gen. Ventura).	4	2	12	22	0
Gen. Golab Singh Calcuttawala (deceased).	Sikhs - - - - -	4	1	16	0	0
Deewan Jodha Ram -	Sikhs, Mahom., Hill men (Gen. Avitabile).	4	1	12	3	0
Gen. Kanh Singh Man -	Sikhs and Mahometans -	4	0	10	0	0
Sirdar Nehal Singh Alhoowaleea.	Inf. Sikhs and Mahom.; Art. chiefly Mahom. -	1	0	4	11	0
Deewan Sawun Mull -	Mahom. and some Sikhs	3	0	6	0	40
Raja Heera Singh -	Hill men, some Mah., &c.	2	1	0	3	5
Raja Golab Singh -	Do. Do.	3	0	15	0	40
Raja Soochet Singh (dec.)	Do. Do.	2	1	4	0	10
Capt. Kooldeep Singh -	Goorkhas - - -	1	0	0	0	0
Commandant Bhag Singh	Sikhs and Mahometans -	0	0	6	0	0
Commandant Sheo Pershad	Do. Do.	0	0	8	0	0
Missar Lal Singh -	Do. Do.	0	0	10	0	0
Sirdar Kishen Singh -	Mah. and Hindoostanees	0	0	0	0	2
Gen. Kishen Singh -	Sikhs and Mahometans -	0	0	22	0	0
Sirdar Sham Singh Attareewalla.	Do. Do.	0	0	0	10	0
Meean Pirthee Singh -	Chiefly Mahometans -	0	0	0	56	0
Gen. Mehwa Singh -	Sikhs and Mahometans -	0	0	10	10	0
Col. Ameer Chund -	Chiefly Mahometans -	0	0	0	10	0
Commandant Muzhur Alea	Mah. and Hindoostanees	0	0	10	0	0
Jowahir Mull Mistree (Lahore).	Mahometans; a few Sikhs.	0	0	0	20	12
Commandant Sookhoo Singh (Amritsir).	Sikhs, and some Hindoostanees.	0	0	0	0	10
Miscellan. Garrison Guns	- - - - -	0	0	0	0	50
		60	8	228	156	171

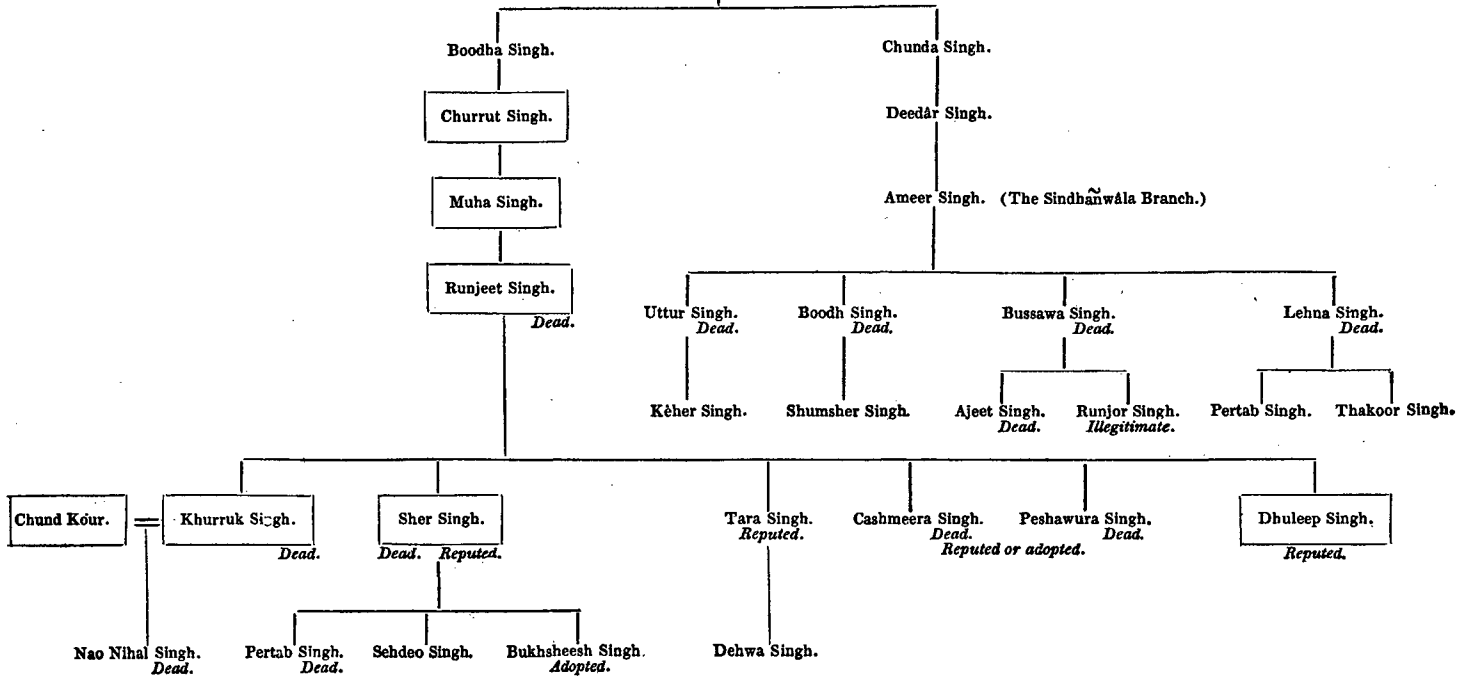
Abstract of the whole Army.

Sixty Regiments Infantry, at 700 - - -	42,000
Ramghols, Akalees - - -	5,000
Irreg. Levies, Garrison Companies, &c. -	45,000
Eight Regiments Cavalry, at 600 - - -	4,800
"Ghorchurras" (Horse) - - -	12,000
Jagheerdaree Horse - - -	15,000
Field Artillery - - - -	31,800 Cavalry.
	384 Guns.

APPENDIX XL.

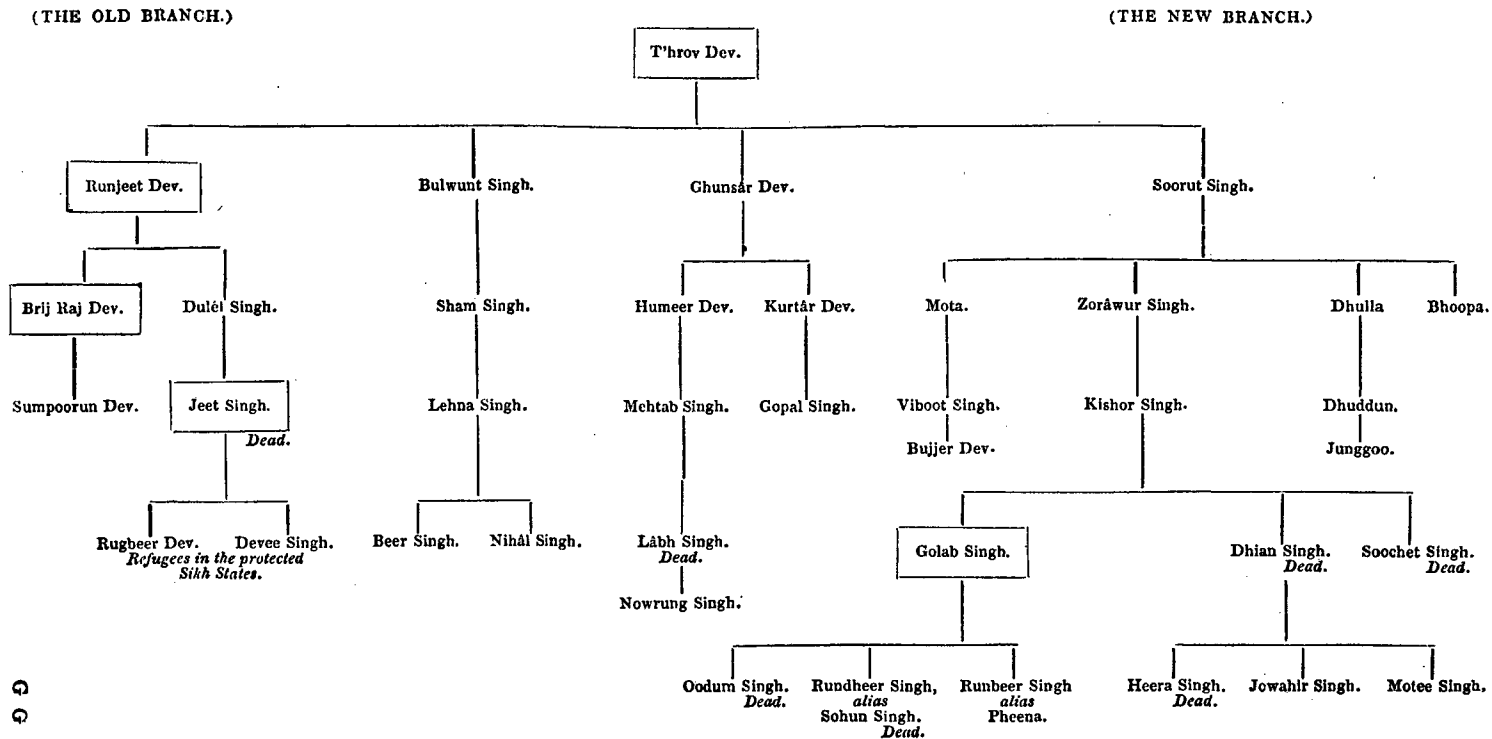
THE LAHORE FAMILY.

Nodha.



APPENDIX XLI.

THE JUMMOO FAMILY.



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NOTE.

* * Names which are familiar to the English reader, and which may be said to have become formed into a conventional vocabulary, are spelt according to the common orthography, or with such little deviation from it as not to require special notice. Thus, Deccan is used throughout for Dukhun, or Dekhin, or Dukshun; Mahomet for Mohummud, or Mohammed; Runjeet for Ranjit, and so on.

Otherwise it has been attempted to convey the sound of Indian names by giving to English letters their ordinary pronunciation or admitted powers; and it has not been thought advisable to endeavor to render letters by their alphabetical equivalents.

A is always to be pronounced broad as *a* in all, father, &c., excepting in such classical names as Akber, Arjoon, &c. where it has the sound of *u* in up, dull, &c.

E, when single, is to be pronounced as *e* in there, or as *a* in care. When double (EE), as *ee* in cheer, or as *ea* in hear.

I, as *i* in sit, writ, &c.

O, as *o* in only, bone, &c., *i. e.* generally long.

U, as *u* in up, sun, &c.

El, as *ey* in eyry.

EU, as *eu* in Europe.

OW, as *ow* in town, or as *ou* in round.

The letter C is always to be regarded as hard, or as the equivalent of K.

Similarly G is always hard, and nowhere represents J.

In some names and designations, the modern pronunciation and modes in use in India generally have occasionally been preferred to the ancient classical, or to the present local forms. Thus, Cheitun is written instead of Chaitanya; Koopêl, instead of Capila; Raee, instead of Roy or Rao, and so on.

On the contrary, the familiar word Siva (Seevâ) has been preferred to Shiv, or Sheo, or Shew; while Krishna and Kishen have been used indiscriminately. With regard to Avatar, there is a difficulty; for the word is pronounced not as Avâhtêr, but as Awtârĥ or Owâtârĥ. The usual form does not convey the true sound, and the other is offensive to the unaccustomed eye.

* * In the references, and also in the text, from Chap. V. to the end of the Volume, the name of military officers and civil functionaries are quoted without any nice regard to the rank they may

NOTE.

have held at the particular time, or to the titles by which they may have been subsequently distinguished. But as there is one person only of each name to be referred to, no doubt or inconvenience can arise from this laxity. Thus the youthful, but discreet Mr. Metcalfe of the treaty with Runjeet Singh, and the Sir Charles Metcalfe so honorably connected with the history of India, is the Lord Metcalfe of riper years and approved services in another hemisphere. Lieutenant Colonel, or more briefly Colonel, Pottinger, is now a Major General and a Grand Cross of the Bath; while Mr. Clerk has been made a knight of the same Order, and Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence has been raised to an equal title. Captain, or Lieutenant-Colonel, or Sir Claude Wade, mean one and the same person; and similarly the late Sir Alexander Burnes, sometimes appears as a simple lieutenant, or as a captain, or as a lieutenant colonel. On the other hand, Sir David Ochterloney is referred to solely under that title, although, when he marched to the Sutlej in 1809, he held the rank of lieutenant colonel only.